THE Mennonite Quarterly Review

BOARD OF EDITORS
HAROLD S. BENDER, *Goshen College*, Editor

GUY F. HERSHBERGER, *Goshen College*
EDWARD YODER, *Scottdale, Pa.*
C. HENRY SMITH, *Bluffton, Ohio*
CHRISTIAN NEFF, *Weierhof, Germany*
JOHN UMBLE, *Goshen College*
ERNST CORRELL, *Washington, D. C.*
ABRAM WARKENTIN, *Newton, Kansas*
BENJAMIN UNRUH, *Karlsruhe, Germany*
JOHN C. WENGER, *Goshen College*

VOLUME XIV APRIL, 1940 NUMBER TWO

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

PALATINATE MENNONITE CENSUS LISTS, 1664-1774, II.
Edited by Harold S. Bender

ANABAPTISM AND PIETISM
Robert Friedmann

EDITORIAL

THE MENNONITE PALATINATE CENSUS LISTS, BEGUN IN THE preceding number of the REVIEW, are continued in this issue. For editorial comment and introduction to the lists, see the January, 1940 REVIEW.

EVEN THE SUPERFICIAL STUDENT OF ANABAPTISM MUST HAVE noticed points of similarity between Anabaptism and the spiritually related movement of German Pietism which developed in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Those who are familiar with German Mennonitism of the pietistic period as well as American Mennonitism in general are aware too of the significant influence of Pietism upon it. However, no well-equipped scholar has ever sought to subject the interrelations of the two movements to a thorough scrutiny. Dr. Robert Friedmann, formerly of Vienna but now a refugee scholar in the United States, has undertaken this task and has produced an intensely interesting and valuable monograph which appears in the REVIEW under the title, "Anabaptism and Pietism."

Dr. Friedmann has not only rendered a valuable service in his painstaking and thorough research in a hitherto unexplored field, but he has also achieved an unusually fine and penetrating interpretation which has opened up new perspectives for the final evaluation of the Anabaptist movement in the history of Christian thought and life. He would be the last to claim his article as an exhaustive study of this very interesting field, for without doubt the theme could be fruitfully pursued in Dutch and American Mennonite history. However, I consider his monograph one of the most significant pieces of work in Anabaptist history in recent years. Few historians have devoted themselves to the interpretation of Anabaptism as a movement in the history of ideas or even in the history of theology. Friedmann has done this, and by so doing has not only helped us to understand early and later Anabaptism and Mennonitism better, but has focussed a revealing light on the central problems of Christian theology and Christian living and thus contributed effectively to a critique of modern Mennonitism and modern Christianity. We may venture to hope that he has contributed something also to a modern re-living of the best there was in early Anabaptism but which has been partially lost through the centuries.

Harold S. Bender.

THE
Mennonite Quarterly
Review

VOLUME XIV NUMBER 2

PALATINATE MENNONITE CENSUS LISTS, 1664-1774

Edited from the Originals in the State Archives at Karlsruhe, Germany, by Harold S. Bender

II

NO. 12 1738-S

Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 4237, fol. 111/12.

General Tabelle

Über die im **Oberambt Allzey** befindlichen Menonisten familien

Namen der Gemeinden	Wie Vihl Menonisten und wie sie heissen.	Weib und Kinder
Heppenheim		
	1. Johannes Weber	dessen Weib und Kinder sind reformirt
	2. Henrich Landes	Weib und 7 Kinder
	3. Johannes Bub (Rupp?)	Weib und ein Kind
	4. Mattheis Weber	Weib ohne Kinder
	5. Martin Weber	Weib ohne Kinder
	6. Henrich Weber	Weib und 3 Kinder
Osthoffen		
	1. David Jutzi	hat 7 Kinder
	2. Henrich Schneider	Weib und 3 Kinder
	3. Daniel Engers	Weib nebst 2 Kinder
	4. Christian Weiss Wittwer	6 Kinder

Hochheim		
	1. alss Temporalbeständer auf der 3 Horesmühl	hat Weib und 5 Kinder
Leiselnheim		
	1. So in der freÿadlichen Mühl lohnweiss wohnet	hat Frau ohne Kinder
Alsheim		
	3. Familien als 3 Männer	4 Weiber nebst 9 Kinder
Hamm		
	1. Johannes Frick	Frau mit 3 Kinder
	2. Jacob Hauri	Weib und 4 Kinder
	3. Jacob Rohrer	Eine Frau ohne Kinder
	4. Henrich Rohrers Wittib	2 Kinder
Spiesheim		
	1. Henrich Hahn	Weib und 4 Kinder
	2. Johannes Weber	frau nebst 4 Kinder
	3. Peter Berg mit seinem Sohn und dessen Weib so verheÿrather beim Vatter arbeitten und in der Kost seind	1 Frau nebst 2 Kinder
	4. Julius Bien	Weib nebst 1 Kind
	5. Henrich Bien	Frau mit 6 Kinder
	6. Dietherich Blum	Weib mit 3 Kinder
	7. Daniel Blum ein armer abgelebten 60 jähriger Mann Wittwer, so keine Haushaltung führet, sondern sein Kind nach Brod vor die Thüren schicket.	1 Kind
Oberflörsheim		
	1. Jacob Dahl	Frau mit 4 Kinder
	2. Johannes Hahn	Weib mit 6 Kinder
	3. Christian Weber der jung	Frau mit 3 Kinder
	4. Johannes Schmidt	Weib
	5. Christian Weber des alten Wittib	1 Kind
	6. Arnold Krämers Wittib	2 Kinder
Guntersheim		
	1. Henrich Schmidt	Weib mit 4 Kinder
	2. Peter Weber	Weib und eine Tochter
	3. Johannes Krähmer	Frau mit 5 Kinder
	4. Johannes Fingers so an Februar 1738 gestorben, moda dessen Wittib ist eine arme Frau.	
Dalsheim		
	Des Tit. Freÿherrn v. Geispitzheim Hofman, ein Menonist so vor Kurzer Zeit dahin gekomen	Frau ohne Kinder

Niederflörsheim

1.	Johannes Clementz Wittwer	1 Tochter

Kriegsheim

1.	Johannes Geber ist ein armer Mann und wird aus der Menonisten Cassa allda erhalten	hat ein Weib und 2 Kinder
2.	Johannes Noldt Ein Wittwer von ½ Jahr	3 Kinder
3.	Abraham Müller	Weib mit 2 Kinder
4.	Abraham Kolb	Frau mit 3 Kinder
5.	Gerhard Janse Wittwer	2 Kinder
6.	Leonhard Becker	Frau nebst 2 Kinder
7.	Valentin Huthwohl	Frau mit 2 Kinder
8.	Valentin Huthwohls Wittib	
9.	Henrich Strohm	Frau und 1 Kind
10.	Wilhelm Bien	Frau nebst 2 Kinder
11.	David Huthwohl so ein Temporalbeständer ist in der Freiherrlich Bokheimisches Mühl	Frau mit 3 Kinder
12.	Henrich Gram Wittwer	

Offenheim

1.	Johannes Boxler	Frau nebst 3 Söhne

Wolfsheim

1.	Matheus Weber	Frau ohne Kinder
2.	Wendel Jantz	Frau mit 5 Kinder
3.	Herman Jantz	Weib mit 2
4.	Gerhard Hohlen Wittib so kürtzlich verstorben, welchen Sohn Gerhard das Gut angetreten und hat	2 Geschwistriges
5.	Peter Böhmer	Frau mit 4 Kinder

Erbesbüdesheim

allda seind 5 Familien und 1 Wittfrau, welche sambte die Frau Generalin Von La Roche ihr hofleuth seind als

1.	Hans Jacob Boxler	Frau
2.	Oswald Nöff	Weib mit 3 Kinder
3.	Jost Eicher der alt	Frau mit 2 Kinder
4.	Ulrich Leonhardt	Frau und 1 Kind
5.	Jost Eicher der jung	Weib
6.	Michel Andresen Wittib	1 Kind

Aspiesheim

1.	Johannes Schmidt	hat 4 Kinder
2.	Henrich Frieden Wittib	4 Kinder

NO. 13 1739-S

Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 4211, fol. 86÷87.

TABELL

Deren in Churpfaltz befindlicher Menonisten, welche das schuldige schutzgeld, mit welche solches mit entrichten, und zahlt die Familie jährlich sechs, die wittweiber aber nur halb so viel, und befinden sich deren und zwar im

Oberamt Altzey zue

Alsheim am Altrhein
- Daniel Stauffer
- Christell Stauffer
- Daniel Schmid
- dessen mutter
- Joannes Schmid

Aspiesheim
- Johannes Schmied
- Henrich Fritzen Wittib

Gundersheim
- Peter Weber
- Joannes Crämer
- Joannes Enger
- Diel Rueb
- Henrich Schmid

Hamm
- Joannes Frick
- Jacob Hauri (Hanaj)
- Henrich Röhrers Wittib

Übersheimer Hof
- Johannes Hiestand
- Ullrich Hackmann
- Christian Berckele (Binkele)
- Johannes Seitz
- Rudolph Forer
- Jacob Hiestand
- Jacob Forer
- Ullrich Hackmann
- Hannele Hiestand
- Henrich Kochenauer
- Rudolph Neükummet
- Jacob Hiestand
- Jacob Roppach
- Abraham Roppach
- Joannes Forer
- Jacob Hackmann
- Jacob Müller
- Henrich Seitz
- Christian Stauffer
- Jacob Müller
- Jacob Liese
- Abraham Hackmann
- Ullrich Hackmann
- Peter Hohl
- Andres Schreger
- Ullrich Stauffer
- Jacob Gros
- Michel Fuchs
- der Landes
- Christian Matern
- Hans Müller

Osthofen
- Daniel Schneider
- Daniel Engers
- Christian Weiss

Kriesheim
- David Jutzi
- Joannes Weber
- Joannes Nold
- Abraham Kolb
- Lenhard Becker
- Valentin Hütwol
- Henrich Strom
- Wilhelm Bühn
- David Hütwohl
- Gerhard Janse Wittib
- Henrich Grambs Wittib
- Valentin Hütwols Wittib
- Henrich Crämer
- Joannes Janson
- Abraham Müller
- Henrich Beckers Wittib
- Otten Wittib

Hochheim
- Daniel Landes

Oberflörsheim
- Jacob Dahl
- Joannes Hahn
- Christian Weber
- Christian Webers Wittib
- Arnold Crämer Wittib
- Dietrich Weber
- Peter Weber der jung
- Peter Weber der alt

Johannes Dahlen Wittib
Joannes Schmid

Niederflörsheim
Joannes Clemens

Spiesheim
Henrich Hahn
Joannes Weber
Peter Berg der alt
Dieterich Blümm
Julius Bühn
Daniel Blümm
Henrich Blümm
Julius Blümm
Henrich Bühn
Peter Berg der jung
Johannes Webers Mutter obyt

Leyselheim
Joannes Zahn

Offenheim
Joannes Boxler

Wolffsheim
Mathes Weber
Peter Böhmer
Hermann Janson
Wendel Janson
Gerhard Hohlen Wittib
Joannes Weber

Erbesbüdesheim
Hans Jacob Boxler
Ostwald Neff
Jost Eicher der alt
Jost Eicher der jung
Anna Andresin Wittib
Christian Eicher

Kriegsfeld
Michel Lüttig obyt
Michel Andressen Wittib
Christ Fischers Wittib

Heppenheim bey Altzey
Joannes Weber
Martin Weber
Mathes Weber
Henrich Weber
Henrich Landes
Joannes Rupp

Im Oberambt Bacharach
Nota
Im diesem oberamt befinden sich keine

Im Oberambt Bretten
und zwar zu Weingarten
Andres Maurer

Eppingen
Henrich Müller
Joannes Frey

Im Oberambt Kreuznach als zu **Zozenheim**
Allda ist einer

Im Oberamt Freinsheim
In der Statt **Freinsheim**
Joannes Burgholder

Flommersheim
Joannes Steinmann
Jacob Beer

Hessheim
Georg Hütwohl

Heppenheim auf der Wies
Wilhelm Herbach
Joannes Becker
Friederich Gramm
Ullrich Stauffer
Gerhard Becker

Offstein
Henrich Schneider
Jonas Schneider
Johannes Lehren Wittib
Joannes Dahl

Rodenbach
Christoffell Stoffel
Peter Schuhmacher
Joannes Siegriest
Joannes Andres
Joannes Christoffel
Jacob Andres Wittib

Obersültzen
Christian Stauffer
Johannes Blumm
Jacob Schmid
Henrich Fried
Jacob Mayers Wittib
Henrich Blumen Wittib
Henrich Blumm
Christian Ohlenberger

Oberamt Germersheim

Burckerhörd
Nicolaus Stein

Lueg
Jacob Müller obyt

Völkersweiler
Ullrich Hübschi

Impflingen
Christian Danner

Mechtersheimerhof
Johannes Hoff

Joann Noffzieger
Christian Stuffert
Jacob Kurtz

Oberamt Heydelberg

Ziegellhausen
obyt
Handschuhsheim
Peter Bertold
Rohrhoff
Christian Neu
Wolffgang Hob
Melcher Fellmann
Georg Schaub
Jacob Ballmer
Johannes Sterger
Joannes Schwartz
Neckarau
Daniel Bremer obyt
Rohrbach
Joannes Fellmanns Wittib
Joannes Bühler obyt
Hans Letti
Kirchheim
Peter Bühler
Eppelheim
Jost Eschbach
Wiesloch
Peter Allenbach
Tobias Hottell
Joann Bühler Bruchausen
Altwiesloch
Christian Bachmann
Zuzenhaussen
Henrich Landes
Hans Musellmann
Möckesheim
Hans Plescher
Samuel Plescher
Reydessbacherhof
Hans Wiesers Frau
Münchzell
Hans Rohrer
Ochsenbach
Benedickt Biegstammer
Jacob Schallenberger
Helmstatt
Hans Schmitz
Valentin Schmitz
Henrich Wagner
Ullrich Eisels Wittib
Christian Eby (Elee)
Michel Wagner
Mauer
Hans Gerber
Michel Brand
Joseph Horsch
Daispach
David Kauffmann
Martin Kauffman
Schatthausen
Christian Kauffmann
Henrich Kauffmann
Martin Kauffmann
Peter Eber
Daniel Neukum
Eschelbronn
Benedict Musellmanns Wittib
Christian Musellmann
Hans Meyer
Lobenfeld
Jacob Brand
Kirschhaüserhoff
die Gräfin von Wittgenstein
mit noch 10 familien

Im Oberambt Ladenburg und Lautterecken
sind sich keine

Im Oberambt Lauttern

In der Stadt Lauttern
Henrich Jordan
Ullrich Gindelsberger
Jacob Guth
Imbsweiller
Joannes Licht
Christian Licht
Johannes Lichten Wittib
Catzweiller
Henrich Latscha
Christian Licht
Melcher Neüschwanger
Schultheiserey

Alseborn

Joannes Brennemann
Joannes Kraibühl
Durst Ziegler
Jacob Müller
Geiselberg
Hans Tragsel
Holderberg
Daniel Sayller

Schmalenberg
Andres Schank
Christian Schwartzendruber
Enkenbach
alda seind drey familien
Weiller
Jacob Leder
Otterberg
Ullrich Licht
Jacob Beidler
Nicolaus Rubel
Peter Rubel
Krehenthal
Ullrich Fuchs

Oberambt Mosbach

Immelshaussen aufm Stifftshof
Christian Eicher
Christian Binckle
Samuel Frey
Sünssheim
Peter Moser
Reyhen
Jacob Graff
Kühehard
Samuel Wiesle
Richen
Martin Beer
Martin Frey

Oberambt Neustatt

Statt Neustadt
Jacob Mellinger
Hospital Branchweiller
Daniel Hege
Joannes Dester
Joannes Ellenberger
Jacob Guth
Abraham Egli
Philipp Giesing
Zwey Wittweiber
Böhl
Christian Isler
Duttweiller
Abraham Eckli
Waltzheim
Joannes Finger
Henrich Sutter
Friesenheim
Michel Kungi (Kaegi?)
Christian Stauffer
Mathes Blümm
Henrich Graff
Adam Bornemann
Ullrich Hirschle
Herrmann Beer
Samuel Oberholtzer
Anna Gerbarin
Maria Leibin
Hembshoff
Joannes Mellinger
Joannes Drischer
Joannes Baumann
Gronau
Jacob Hirtzelle
David Mellinger

NO. 14 1740-S

Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 4212, fol. 70.

Wird Hof-cammer Rath Herr v. Gassenfels zur weiteren Besorgung hiermit communicirt Mannheim d. 9. Februar 1740.

Churfürstl. Pfaltzl-Hof-cammer Freiherr v. Reisach.
Müller.

Tabelle

Deren in Churpfaltz befindlicher Menonisten, welche das schüldige schutzgeld, und welche solches nicht entrichten wird zahlt die Familie jährlich sechs, die Wittiben nur halb so viel und befinden sich deren im:

Oberambt Altzey zu

Alsheim am Altrhein
Daniel Stauffer
Christel Stauffer
Daniel Schmid
Dessen Mutter
Aspiesheim
Johannes Schmid
Henrich Fritzen Wittib

Gundersheim
Peter Weber
Johannes Krämer
Johannes Enger
Diel Rueb
Henrich Schmid

Hamm
Johannes Frick
Jakob Hanaj (Hauri)
Henrich Röhrer Wittib

Übersheimer Hof
Johannes Hiestand
Ulrich Hackmann
Christian Berckel (Bergthold)
Johannes Seitz
Rudolf Fohrer
Jakob Hiestand
Jakob Fohrer
Ulrich Hackmann
Hansel Hiestand
Henrich Kochenauer
Rudolph C. Neukummet
Jacob Hiestand
Jacob Roppach
Abraham Roppach
Johannes Forer
Jacob Hackmann
Jacob Müller
Henrich Seitz
Christian Stauffer
Jacob Müller
Jacob Biese (Liese?)
Abraham Hackmann
Ulrich Hackmann
Peter Bühler
Peter Hohl
Andres Schreger
Ulrich Staufer
Jacob Gross
Michel Fuchss
Der Landes
Christian Matern
Hannss Müller

Osthofen
Daniel Schneider
Daniel Engers
Christian Weiss
David Jutzi

Kriegsheim
Johannes Reber
Johannes Nolt
Abraham Kolb
Leonhard Becker
Valentin Hüttwoll
Henrich Strohm
Wilhelm Bühn
David Hütwohl
Gerhard Janse Wittib
Henrich Grambs Wittib
Henrich Krähmer
Johannes Janson
Valentin Hütwohl Wittib
Abraham Müller
Henrich Becker Wittib
Otten Wittib

Hochheim
Daniel Landes

Oberflörsheim
Jakob Dahl (Dalem)
Johannes Hahn
Christian Weber
Christian Weber Wittib
Arnold Cramers Wittib
Dietrich Weber
Peter Weber der jung
Peter Weber der alt
Johannes Dahlem Wittib
Johannes Schmid

Niederflörsheim
Johannes Clemens

Spiesheim
Henrich Hahn
Johannes Weber
Peter Berg der alt
Dietrich Blümm
Julius Buhn
Daniel Blumm
Henrich Blumm
Henrich Buhn
Julius Blumm
Peter Berg der jung
Johannes Weber Mutter
Obyt

Leyselheim
Johannes Zahn

Offenheim
Johannes Bexler

Wolfsheim
Mathes Weber
Peter Böhmer
Herman Janson
Wendel Janson

Gerhard Hohlen Wittib
Johannes Weber

Erbesbüdesheim
Hans Jacob Bexler
Ostwald Neff
Jost Eicher der alt
Jost Eicher der jung
Ulrich Lenhard
Anna Andressin Wittib
Christian Eicher

Kriegsfeld
Michel Lüttig Obÿt
Michel Andress Wittib
Christian Fischers Wittib

Heppenheim bei Altzey
Johannes Weber
Martin Weber
Mathes Weber
Henrich Weber
Henrich Landes
Johannes Rupp

Oberambt Bacharach

Nota
in diesem Oberambt befinden sich Keine

Im Oberambt Bretten
und zwar zu

Weingarten
Andress Maurer

Eppingen
Henrich Müller
Johannes Freÿ

Im Oberamt Freinsheim

In der **Statt Freinsheim**
Johannes Burgholder

Flommersheim
Johannes Steinmann
Jakob Beer

Hessheim
Georg Hütwohl

Heppenheim auf der Wiese
Wilhelm Horbach
Johannes Becker
Friedrich Gramm
Ulrich Staufer
Gerhard Becker

Offstein
Henrich Schneider
Johannes Lehren Wittib
Jonas Schneider
Johannes Dahl

Rodenbach
Christophel Stoffel
Peter Schuhmacher
Johannes Sigrist
Johannes Andress
Johannes Christophel
Jacob Andres Wittib

Oberambt Freinsheim zu

Obersültzen
Christian Staufer
Johannes Blumm
Jacob Schmid
Henrich Fried
Jacob Mayers Wittib
Henrich Blumen Wittib
Henrich Blum
Christian Ohlenberger

Oberamt Germersheim

Birkenhörd
Nicolaus Stainer

Lueg
Jacob Müller obyt

Völkersweiler
Ulrich Hübschi quo

Impflingen
Christian Danner

Mechtersheimer Hof
Johannes Hoff
Christian Stauffer
Johann Noffzieger
Jacob Kurtz
Christian Schowalder

Oberambt Heydelberg

Ziegelhausen
obyt

Handschuhsheim
Peter Bertold

Rohrhoff
Christian Neu
Wolfgang Hob
Melcher Fellmann
Georg Schaub
Jacob Ballmer
Johannes Sterger
Johannes Schwartz

Neckerau
Daniel Brehmen obyt

Rohrbach
Johannes Fellman Wittib
Johannes Bühler obyt
Hans Letti

Kirchheim
Peter Bühler
Eppelheim
Jost Eschbach
Wiesloch
Peter Allenbach
Tobias Gottel
Johann Böhler **Bruchhausen**
Alt-Wiesloch
Christian Bachmann
Zuzenhausen
Henrich Landes
Hannss Musselmann
Möckesheim
Hans Plescher
Samuel Plescher
Reÿdenspacher Hof
Hanss Wiessers frau
Oberamt Heÿdelberg zu
Münchzell
Hans Rohrer
Ochsenbach
Benedikt Biegstamer
Jakob Schallenberger
Helmstatt
Hans Schmitz
Valentin Schmitz
Henrich Wagner
Ulrich Fissels Wittib
Christian Elee
Michel Wagner
Mauer
Hans Gerber
Michel Brand
Josef Horsch
Daispach
David Kaufmann
Martin Kaufmann
Jacob Kaufmann
Schatthaussen
Christian Kaufmann
Henrich Kaufmann
Daniel Neukum
Martin Kaufmann
Peter Eber
Eschelbronn
Benedikt Muselmanns Wittib
Christian Muselmann
Hans Mayer
Lobenfeld
Jacob Brand
Kirschhauserhof
Die Gräfin von Wittgenstein
mit noch 10 Familien
Im Oberamt Ladenburg und
Lauterer Reu
finden sich Keine
Im Oberamt Lauttern
In der Statt Lauttern
Heinrich Jordan
Ulrich Gindelsberger
Jacob Guth
Imbsweiler
Johannes Licht
Christian Licht
Johannes Lichten Wittib
Catzweiler
Henrich Latscha
Christian Licht
Melcher Neuschwanger
Schultheusserey
Alseborn
Johann Brennemann
Johann Kraibuhl
Dürst Ziegler
Jacob Müller
Geiselberg
Hannss Tragsell
Holderberg
Daniel Sayller
Schmalenberg
Andreas Schenk
Christian Schwartzentreiber
Oberamt Lauttern Zu
Enckenbach
allda seynd 3 Familien
Weiler
Jacob Leder
Otterberg
Ulrich Licht
Jacob Beidler
Nicolaus Rubell
Peter Rubell
Krehental
Ulrich Fuchss
Oberambt Mosbach
Immelshausen auf dem Stiftshof
Christian Eicher
Christian Binkle
Samuel Freÿ
Sünssheim
Peter Moser

Reyhen
Jacob Graf
Kühehard
Samuel Wiessle
Richen
Martin Beer
Martin Frey

Oberambt Neustatt

Statt Neustatt
Jacob Mellinger
Hospital Branchweiler
Daniel Hege
Johannes Dester
Johannes Ehlenberger
Jacob Guth
Abraham Egli
Philipp Giessing
Zwei Wittweiber
Böhl
Christian Issler
Duttweiler
Abraham Eckli
Waltzheim
Michel Kaegi
Christian Stauffer
Mathes Blüm
Henrich Gross
Adam Bornemann
Ulrich Hirschle
Hermann Beer
Samuel Oberholtzer
Anna Gerberin
Maria Leibin
Hembshof
Johannes Mellinger
Johannes Drischer
Johannes Baumann
Gronau
Jakob Hirsel
David Mellinger

Oberambt Neustatt

Lambsheim
Christian Hirschberger
Gönnheim
Abraham Ehlenberger
Michel Ehlenberger
Hanns Schantz
Peter Ebersohl
Waidenthal
Jacob Baumann Wittib
Mutterstatt
Vincenz Mellinger
Hanss Stauffer
Jakob Kindig
Abraham Binckel
Auf dem Kohlhof
Jacob Blickensdörfers Wittib
Johannes Burgholder
Jacob Steinmann
Johannes Burgholder
Oggersheim
Jost Jotter
Michel Bechtel
Valentin Schmutz
Musspach
Johann Leder
Oppaue
Peter Ruppen Wittib
Johannes Graf
Gräfenaue
Jacob Pletzer
Peter Graf
Jacob Graf
Wachenheim
Daniel Finger
Jacob Bergholder
Johannes Blumm
Dieter Kieferndorf
Ulrich Strohm
Martin Haussers Wittib
Hermanns Christoffels Wittib

Im Oberambt Oppenheim
Stromberg, Simmern,
Veldentz, Umbstatt,
Statt Heydelberg
und **Frankenthal**
finden sich Keine

Mannheim
Johannes Huntzinger
Christian Schuhmacher
Andress Bergen Wittib
Jacob Schneble
Konrad Geber
Mathess Baumans Wittib
Andres Hok
Jacob Eichacker
Jacob Graf
Hanss Jacob Graf
Nicolaus Blumm
David Bechtel

Johann Hassart der alte		Peter Holl	
Johann Hassart der junge	"	Johannes Burgholder	
Peter Peltzer		Karl Krähmers Wittib	
Jacob Cetti		Summa aller Wiedertäufer	
Conrad Gerhards Wittib		Ist 336 bis	340
Johannes Stauffer		Weiber	340
Johannes Dahlmann		Kinder	940
Nicolaus Blumm		Knecht, Magd und	
Johannes Kohler		Taglöhner	390
			2010

NB. **Gerolsheim** bei **Diermstein** Ein Vorsteher der Menonisten manguiret im **Oberambt Freinsheim** nahmens Burgholder.

Item zu **Friedelsheim** wohnen 7 Haushaltungen deren Wiedertaufer.

NO. 15 1742-N

Extractus

eines 33 im Lande wohnenden Mennonisten halber erstatteten Berichts.

22. Im Oberamt **Heidelberg** und zwar zu **Ziegelhausen** ist ein Menonist mit Namen Peter Bergtold wohnhaft, dann auf dem **Rohrhof** Christian Ney (?) Wolfgang Hob, Jacob Balner und Johann Zerger, von welchen Gefällsverweser H. Schmuck in dem eingeschickten Verzeichnis abstrahiert und dass ersterer über Rhein anno 1739 gezogen, der Wolfgang Hob aber unbekannt, nicht weniger der Jacob Balner sich fort und hinweg begeben habe, hingegen befinden sich nach dem Verzeichnis auf besagtem **Rohrhof** weiter noch Christian Neys Kinder, Johannes Fellmann, Rudolf Fellmann und Christian Jung, weshalb nähere Nachricht einzuziehen sein will, die zwei und wohingezogen, nicht weniger wie lang die 4 andern auf dem **Rohrhof** wohnhaft und von woher angenommen worden.

23. Zu **Rohrbach** sind Hans Cetti und Johannes Fellmanns Wittfrau wohnhaft wovon in dem Verzeichnis nichts enthalten, weshalb Berichtgeber anzuzeigen, wo diese allenfalls hingekommen und wann allenfalls von da sich hinweg begeben und das Schutzgeld bezahlt haben.

24. Zu **Kirchheim** werden in der Designation Johann und Jacob Leysy von deren Annahme und woher solches geschehen, nichts constatiert, worüber gleichfall nähere Nachricht einzuziehen.

25. Zu **Bruchhausen,** wo weiteres der Heinrich Mayer wohnt, von welchem in den Verzeichnis nichts enthalten, hingegen wird Hans Bühler eingebracht; daher zu examinieren, warum ersagter Mayer kein Schutzgeld entrichten soll, dann wie lang der Hans Bühler wohnhaft und ob jährlich das Schutzgeld entrichtet.

26. In **Walldorf** habe Jost Kuh (?) sich bei Christian Fuchs aufgehalten, von welchen letzterer zu . . . .

27. Auf dem (Birkhallerhof) **Rohrhof** ist Joh. Fellmanns Wittfrau und Christian Stauffer wohnhaft, von welchen in dem Verzeichnis nichts enthalten, welche sich der Annahme halber zu ligitimieren und das Schutzgeld nachzutragen haben.

28. Auf dem **Kirchgartshäuserhof** befinden sich 10 Hausgesind, von welcher das Schutzgeld zu beheben und nachzuholen ist.

31. Im **Oberamt Lautern** und zwar in der **Stadt Lautern** befinden sich Wiedertäufer, namentlich Heinrich Jordan, Ullrich Gindelsberger und Jacob Guth, wovon aber in von dem dasigen Gefallsverweser eingeschickten Verzeichnis nichts enthalten. Daher derselbe hierüber und wo das Schutzgeld bis anhero berechnet, auch wann und von woher angenommen worden, zu berichten ist.

32. Finden sich zu **Alsenborn** Johannes Greybühl, zu **Geisselberg** Hans Drechsel, zu **Helkersberg** Daniel Seyler, zu **Schmalenberg** Andres H. Schenk und Christian Schwarzentruber, zu **Weiler** (Bach) Jacob Ledores, zu **Gräfenthal** Ullrich Fuchs, worüber auch nichts enthalten; daher näher zu berichten, wann und von wo diese angenommen, wo und wohin bis anhero Schutzgeld bezahlt haben.

33. Auf der **Eselsverth** (Eselsfürth bei Kaiserslautern) ist Jacob Oswald und zu **Theisbergstegen** Christoph Finger und Magdalena Forrers Wittfrau, wovon in dem Verzeichnis gleichfalls nicht enthalten, worüber gleichmässig Erläuterung verlangt wird, wohin diese das verflossene Schutzgeld entrichtet und wie lange allda wohnhaft, übrigens ist auch daneben der Waldschultheiss zu **Waldfischbach** zu konstituieren, aus wessen Befehl derselbe sich der Wiedertäufer angenommen hat.

Am 13. Februar 1742 wurde dieser Berichts Auszug an die Gefällsverweserten. Vom ersteren ward dann nachfolgender Extrakt eingeschickt.

Extractus

aus der Heidelberger Gefällsverweserei-Rechnung, was in den vogteilichen Orten für Wiedertäufer wohnhaft und wieviel an Schutzgeld sie entrichtet als

Zuzenhausen
Heinrich Landes
Hans Muselmann

Mauer
Hans Geber
Joseph Horsch

Angelloch
Benediktus Steiner
Michael Brand

Eschenbach (Ochsenbach)
Jakob Schallenberger
Christian Kaufmann

Helmstadt
Christian Eby (?)
Heinrich Wagner

Schatthausen
Heinrich Kaufmann
Joh. Riesser (?)
Christian Kaufmann
Peter Ebel
Daniel Neukummet

Ferner **Spezifikation** der allhier sich aufhaltenden Menonisten

Abraham Strickler
Stephan Brennemann
Joh. Jak. Hackmann
Christian Danner
Christian Kraft
Jakob Landes, der alte Kuhhirte
Jak. Schaub
Joh. Landes der junge
Rudolf Schneider
Abraham Danner
Dieter Kieferndorf
Christian Friedr. Kraft

Hochgräflich Wittgenstein. Rath.

Kirchgartshausen, den 10. April 1742.

NO. 16 1743-N

An alle sämtliche Oberämter. "Nachdem man ein genaues Verzeichnis sämtlicher in Churpfalz Landen sich befindlichen Mennonisten einzuziehen nötig erachtet, als hat das Oberamt N. N. beigehörendes Formular mit dem gemessenen Befehl zu empfangen, um darnach eine ordentliche Tabelle dortiger Mennonisten und was jeder an Schutzgeld zu entrichten, pflichtmässig zu verfassen und solche, wie nicht weniger der gesamten Juden, insoweit letztere inmittelst nicht schon eingelangt, bereits untem 8. vor. Monats erforderte Tabelle und Classifikation ungesäumt anhero einzusenden." Mannheim, den 13. Juli 1743.

[Es werden fortlaufend dringliche Mahnungen an die Oberämter abgegeben. Zuletzt am 14. Sept. 1743.—Christian Neff.]

Summarische Tabelle (Formular)

der im Oberamt Alzey wohnhaften und dermalen sich befindlichen Menonisten familien und was jede an Schutzgeld gnädigster Herrschaft zu entrichten hat.

Alsheim
am Altrhein
Dan. Stauffer
ein Weib 4 Kinder
Joh. Schmidt
Dan. Schmidt
Hch. Schmidts Wittib

Aspisheim
Joh. Schmidt
Hch. Fritz Wittib

Erbesbüdesheim
Jak. Boxler
Oswald Neff
Jost Eicher

NO. 17 1743-N S

Pfalz. Generalia, fasc. 4238, fol. 32.

Summarische Tabelle

der in der Churpfalz Residentz Stadt Mannheim als auf dem Lande, in Stadt und Oberämtern wohnhaften und dermalen sich befindenden sämtlichen Mennonisten-Familien u. was jeder an jährl. Recognition gnädigster Herrschaft zu entrichten haben, also—

Ober-Amts Orte	Namen der Menonisten	Mann	Weib	Kinder
Residentz Stadt Mannheim	David Bechtel	1	1	2
	Jakob Eichacker	1	1	4
	Johannes Koller	1	1	2
	Christian Schuhmacher	1	1	2
	Johannes Burckholder	1	1	2
	Jakob Graf	1	1	6

Ober-Amts Orte	Namen der Menonisten	Mann	Weib	Kinder
	Nikolaus Bonn	1	1	2
	Johann Adam Hunzinger	1	1	4
	Johan Jak. Graf	1	1	2
	Joh. Hassert [Fassart]	1	1	4
	Joh. Ja. Pletscher	1	1	3
	Susanna Bergin Wittib	-	1	-
	Magaretha Bonnin "	-	1	1
	Agnes Geberin "	-	1	4
	Abraham Mossimann	1	1	4
	Beständer auf der Mühlau			
Stadt Heidelberg	Samuel Mayer, auf der guthleuth hauss	1	1	1
Stadt Frankenthal	Darin sind keine Mennonisten befindlich			
Oberamt Alzey	Daniel Stauffer	1	-	2
	Johannes Schmidt	1	1	5
Alsheim	Daniel Schmidt	1	1	1
	Christian Lenhardt	1	1	2
Aspisheim	Henrich Fried Wittib	-	1	4
	Joh. Schmidt "	-	1	3
Dalsheim [Derlfsheim]	Jak. Höhr freiherrl. geispitzischer Beständer	1	1	1
	Joh. Strohm	1	1	1
	Abraham Müller	1	1	2
	Joh. Noldt	1	-	2
	Abr. Kolb Wittib	-	1	3
	Joh. Geber	1	1	1
Kriegsheim [Griessheim]	Joh. Janss	1	1	3
	Leonhard Beckers Wittib	-	1	1
	Valtin Hüthwohl	1	1	5
	Heinrich Strohm	1	1	2
	Henrich Krämer	1	1	4
	David Hüthwohl	1	1	5
	Anna, Wilhelm Biehns [Bihnen, Hausfrau]	-	1	3
Erbesbüdesheim	Oswald Neff	1	1	4
	Jost Eicher der alt	1	-	-
	Jost Eicher der jung	1	1	2
	Jak. Eicher	1	1	1
	Joh. Schowalter	1	1	3
	Mich. Andress Wittib	-	1	1
Gundersheim	Heinrich Schmidt	1	1	6
	Peter Biehn	1	1	3
	Johan. Krämer	1	1	5

Ober-Amts Orte	Namen der Menonisten	Mann	Weib	Kinder
Hamm	Joh. Röhrer	1	1	2
	Hch. Röhrers Wittib	-	1	2
	Joh. Fried [Fricken] Wtb.	-	1	1
	Joh. Rupp	1	1	3
	Dan. Landes	1	1	2
Heppenheim	Martin Weber	1		
	Matthias Weber	1	1	
	Heinrich Weber	1	1	1
	Johannes Weber	1	-	-
Mölsheim	Jacob Hackmann	1	1	-
Niederflörsheim	Joh. Christoffel dessen Schwiegervater von 70 Jahren nehmend	1	1	3
	Jacob Dahlem [Dahl]	1	1	5
	Joh. Schmied	1	1	3
	Joannes Hahn	1	1	7
Oberflörsheim	Christian Weber	1	1	4
	Peter Weber	1	1	4
	Wilhelm Krämer	1	1	-
	Arnold Krämers Wittib	-	1	1
Osthofen	David Jutzy	1	1	6
	Michael Weiss	1	1	1
	Ulrich Hackmann	1	1	1
	Jacob Weiss	1	1	-
	Dan. Engers	1	-	1
Offenheim	Joh. Boxler	1	1	3
	Henrich Hahn	1	1	5
	Joh. Weber	1	1	5
Spiesheim	Peter Berg der alt	1	1	-
	Peter Berg der jung	1	1	2
	Jul. Biehn	1	1	3
	Dietr. Bliem	1	1	3
	Dan. Blim	1	-	-
Wolfsheim	Peter Böhmer	1	1	3
	Herm. Janss	1	1	1
	Wentzel Janss	1	1	6
Ibersheim	Heinrich Gochnauer	1	1	2
	Joh. Hiestand	1	1	2
	Ulrich Hackmann	1	-	6
	Rudolph Neukummet	1	1	3
	Joh. Hackmann	1	1	3
	Jak. Hiestand am Thor	1	1	1
	Jac. Hiestand am Schloss	1	1	2
	Hans Jac. Fuhrer [Föhrer]	1	1	2

Ober-Amts Orte	Namen der Menonisten	Mann	Weib	Kinder
	Rudolph Fuhrer [Föhrer]	1	1	5
	Henrich Hackmann	1	1	1
	Joh. Seitz	1	1	3
	Abraham Hackmann	1	1	4
	Heinrich Seitz	1	1	4
	Isaak Gross	1	1	5
	Abraham Seitz	1	1	4
	Peter Bühler	1	1	4
	Isaak Leysy	1	1	2
	Christian Berkÿ	1	1	3
	Christian Stauffer	1	1	4
	Michel Christoph[el]	1	1	3
	Jakob Hackmann	1	1	4
	Joh. Fuhrer [Föhrer]	1	1	4
	Abraham Brupacher	1	1	6
	Hans Jakob Brupacher	1	1	4
	Jakob Müller der alt	1	1	1
	Jak. Müller Witwer	1	-	-
	Joh. Hiestands Wittib	-	1	3
	*Joh. Peter Strohm der Schmied	1	1	2
	*Joh. Müller ein Schneider	1	1	1
* Diese sind Beisassen	*Andreas Schürfer [Schürch], Leineweber	1	1	-
	*Ulrich Stauffer "	1	1	1
	*Christian Marti[n] ein alter	1	1	-

Nota weilen diese Menonisten zu Ibersheim bis hierhin keine Recognition gnädigster Herschaft entrichtet haben, als berührt solches annoch auf gnädigster Verordnung, ob und wieviel dieselben damit belegt werden sollen.

Unteramt Freinsheim				
Stadt Freinsheim	Christian Schneiders Wwe	-	1	4
Flomersheim	Joh. Steinmann	1	1	2
	Baer Wittib	-	1	5
Heppenheim	Wilhelm Heerbach [Hoer.]	1	1	1
	Jakob Jordty ein Müller	1	1	7
	Joh. Becher ein Weber	1	-	-
	Isaak Hiestand, Obigens Tochtermann unter einem Tisch und Haushaltung	1	1	1
	Friedrich Krämer, ein Müller	1	1	5
	Joh. Krämer, ein Schneider	1	-	-
	Gerhard Beck [Beckers] Wittib	-	1	4

Offstein	Heinrich Schneider	1	1	3
Rodenbach	Joh. Siegrist	1	-	1
	Joh. Andres	1	-	1
	Peter Schumacher	1	-	1
	Joh. Christophel	1	-	2
	Stoffel Christophel Wtb.	-	1	1
Obersülzen	Christian Stauffer	1	-	3
	Henrich Fritt	1	1	5
	Jacob Schmitt	1	1	6
	Jacob Hoerstein	1	-	-
	Joh. Bliemin Wtb.	-	1	3
	Barb. Mayerin ein alt und lahm, bettelarm Frau, so bei ihrem Sohn			
	Jac. Hörstein d. Unterhalt hat.			
Hessheim	Georg Hüthwohl	1	1	7
Oberamt Bretten	**Nota** darinnen befinden sich keine Menonisten			
Oberamt Bacherach	Christian Heu[n]ne	1	1	1
Eppingen	Chr[x] wittib		1	-
Oberamt Boxberg und Kreuznach	befinden sich keine Menonisten			
Oberamt Germersheim	Hans Christmann Hofmann zu **Rodenbach**			
Pfleg Eusserthal	Christian Gingerich Erbbeständer auf dem **Breitwieserhof**			
	Christian Müller			
	Michael Müller in der Hillspach			
	Jakob Christmann im Lautertal			
	Abraham Rees [Stöss] auf der Stadtwiese			
	Rudolph Hertzler auf der Stadtwiese			
	Michael Zuber auf der Stadtwiese			
	Christian Schneider auf der Otterberger Wiese			
	Christian Stadli [Stockli] auf dem Laubenwald			
	Hans Bauer der Müller im Kloster Eusserthal			
	Hanns Hoff der Müller zu Merlheim			

Birkenhördt	Christian Eichelberger auf der Mühle wohnhaft			
Mechtersheim	Christian Stauffer			
	Joh. Rössinger [Stössiger]			
	Christian Bürcky [Bürekli]			
	Abraham Kurz			
	Christian Rössinger [Stössinger]			
	Christian Schowalter			
Mörzheim	Danner Temporalbeständer			

Nota: wegen dieser sambtlichen Menonisten hat das Oberamt weder Familienentwurf, noch den eigentlichen recognitions Ertrag eingeschicket.

Oberamt Heidelberg				
Stadt Wissloch	Christian Fresch	1	1	7
Altwissloch	Christian Bachmann	1	1	3
	Michael Wagner	1	1	8
	Tobias Hodel	1	1	3
	Niclas Kitzel [Kitzler]	1	1	-
Rohrbach	Christian Stauffer	1	1	1
	Joh. Fellmann Wittib	-	1	4
Kircheim	Joh. Cetti	1	1	2
	Joh. Jak. Cetti	1	1	3
Eppelheim	Jost Espach, dieser hat sein Schwiegervater u. Schweigermutter wie auch seinen Kranken ledigen Bruder bei sich in Brot.	1	1	-
Walldorf	Hans Jakob Muselmann	1	1	2
	Christian Fuchs, dessen Schwiegervater ist bei ihm in Brot.	1		
Bruchhäuserhof	Joh. Bühler	1	1	3
	Melchior Haury	1	1	1
	Melchior Fellmann	1	1	-
	Melchior Fellmann Wittib	-	1	2
	Jakob Fellmann Wittib	-	1	3
	Hans Bachmann Taglohners Wittib	-	1	1
Rohrhof	Johannes Schwartz	1	1	4
	Christian Neukummet	1	1	5
	Joh. Fellmann	1	1	3
	Rudolph Fellmann	1	1	-
	Hch. Mayer, ein Schneider	1	1	-

	Chr. Jung, Leineweber	1	1	-
	Melch. Fellmann Taglöhn.	1	1	3
	Georg Schaub "	1	1	2
Unteramt Dillsberg				
Angelloch	Michael Brand	1	1	6
	Benno Dickstaner	1	1	4
	Christ. Kaufmann	1	1	1
	Jacob Schellenberger	1	1	2
Schatthausen	Heinrich Kaufmann	1	1	5
	Christian Kaufmann	1	1	2
	Benedict Fischers	1	1	1
	Peter Ebel [Ebi]	1	1	3
	Daniel Neukombt	1	1	8
Mauer	Joseph Horsch [Hersch]	1	1	6
	Johann Gerber	1	1	5
	Johann Stauffer	1	1	1
Meckesheim	Hans Pletscher	1	1	6
	Samuel Pletscher	1	1	7
Lobenfeld	Jacob Brandt	1	1	2
	Hans Meyers Wittib	-	1	5
	Hans Weiss Taglöhners Ehefrau	-	1	1
Eschelbronn	Christian Musselmann	1	1	6
	Benedikt Musselmann Wittib		1	1
Daispach	Martin Kaufmann	1	1	2
	Jakob Kaufmann	1	1	5
Zuzenhausen	Heinrich Landes [Handt]	1	1	2
	Hans Muselmann	1	1	3
	Johann Bechtold	1	1	7
	Marx Fritz	1	1	-
Helmstadt	Heinrich Wagner	1	1	4
Oberamt Ladenburg	befinden sich keine Menonisten			
Oberamt Lautern				
Stadt Otterberg	Ulrich Lichti, der Stadtmüller	1	1	7
Messerschwanderhof Administrationhof bei Otterberg	Christian Rubel [Kübel] dessen alter Vater und Mutter			
	Peter Rubel [Kübel]	1	-	4
Otterberg	Jakob Beutler, der Müller dessen Mutter	1 -	1 1	2 -
Imsweiler	Christian Lichti	1	1	1

Unteramt Rockenhausen	Gertraud Lichti Wittib	-	1	4
Enkenbach	Johann Brennemann	1	1	3
Rotselberg Unteramt Wolfstein	Christian Lichti	1	1	4
Auf der Hirschalber Mühl Walfischbach Gerichts	Christian Schenk	1	1	1
Frankenstein einem gemeinschaftl. Ort	Johann Kinsinger	1	1	4
Hochspeyer freiherrl. Gebiets	Christian Steiner	1	1	4
Hof Schernau in dem Gericht Ramstein	Johannes Kaufmann Freyherrl. Sickingischerer Hofbeständer	1	1	4
Kühbörncheshof bei Katzweiler (Unteramt Wolfstein)	David Latscha sen.	1	1	3
	David Latscha jun.	1	1	-
Auf dem Lichtenbruch bei Lautern	Hans Gürtzel [Gürgel]	1	1	-
Oberamt Lauterecken	befinden sich keine Mennonisten.			
Oberamt Lindenfels Stadt Lindenfels	Daniel Joder	1	1	5
Oberamt Mosbach Hilspach	Christian Musselmann	1	1	1
Auf dem Immelhäuserhof bei Sinsheim	Christian Eicher	1	1	3
	Christian Binkele	1	1	3
	Samuel Frey	1	1	6
Reihen	Martin Bär	1	1	8
	Martin Frey	1	1	4
Oberamt Neustadt Stadt Neustadt	Jakob Möllinger	1	1	6
Branchweiler	Johannes Dester	1	1	4
	Daniel Hege	1	1	5
	Jakob Guth	1	1	5
	Abraham Egli	1	-	7
	Johannes Ellenberger	1	1	4
	Jakob Dester	1	1	-
	*Elisabeth Büren Wittib	-	1	-

Ober-Amts Orte		Mann	Weib	Kinder
* Suchen ihr Brot.	*Christian Stauffer Witt.	-	1	1
	*Elisabeth Guth Wittib	-	1	2
Duttweiler	Jakob Egly	1	1	-
	Johannes Lichti	1	1	6
	Eglis Wittib hat alles übergeben	-	1	-
Wallsheim	Heinrich Sutter	1	1	3
	Martin Kolb	1	1	4
Weidenthal	Jakob Steiner	1	1	6
	Jak. Baumanns Wittib hat ihrem denen Sohn alles übergeben.	reformiert		
Mussbach	Johannes Jotter	1	1	3
	Martin Häussers Wittib	-	1	2
Wachenheim	Johannes Finger	1	1	1
	Jakob Bergthold	1	1	5
	Johannes Blum	1	1	2
Gönnheim	Abraham Ellenberger	1	1	4
Mutterstadt	Hannes Stauffer	1	1	4
	Abraham Binkele Wittib	-	1	5
	Hans Jakob Kündig (Kaegy)	1	1	2
	Hans Rheinhard dieser ist ein lahmer Mann u. hält sich mit Weib u. Kindern schon einige Jahre bei obigem Kündig auf.	1	1	3
Oggersheim	Valentin Schmutz	1	1	4
	Jost Jotter	1	1	1
Oppau	Johannes Graf	1	1	6
	Jakob Stauffer	1	1	1
	Rupp wittib ist gestorben	-	-	4
	Die Kinder, so alle ledig, führen die Haus			
Petersau	Ulrich Hirschler (Hirschel)	1	1	3
	Johannes König Taglohner (bei obig Hirschel)	1	1	1
	Samuel Oberholzer	1	-	2
Friesenheim	Heinrich Graf	1	1	1
	Adam Brennemann	1	1	1
	Michael Kägy	1	1	2
	Christian Stauffer	1	1	3
	Blum Wittib	-	1	2

Hemshof	Johannes Deutsch	1	1	3
	Johannes Mellinger	1	1	4
Gräfenau	Peter Graf	1	1	3
	Johannes Baumann	1	1	3
Kohlhof	Joseph Burckholder	1	1	4
	Blickensdörfer Wittib	-	1	5
Böhl	Christian Issler	1	1	-
Oberamt Oppenheim				
Dexheim	Andreas Berg	1	1	3
Oberamt Simmern,	Stromberg, Veldentz und Umstadt befinden sich keine Mennonisten.			
	Summa Summarum	244	242	727

Also extrahiert aus den oberamtsberichten Mannheim, den 12. November, 1743. Stambach.

(*To be continued*)

ANABAPTISM AND PIETISM

ROBERT FRIEDMANN

I. THE PROBLEM AND ITS TREATMENT HITHERTO BY HISTORIANS

The historians of the Anabaptist Movement agree that the movement gradually was extinguished in Middle Europe by the beginning of the seventeenth century, and that only insignificant remnants survived in Switzerland and Hungary in the eighteenth century. The resources of the movement apparently had been exhausted in the severe struggle against the persecutions of state and church, and the dying echoes of a movement which had once been so powerful in the sixteenth century disappear in most territories into obscurity just as the beginnings of the movement for the most part still lie in shadows.

On the other hand church historians report the rise at about the same time of a Central European Pietism whose origin likewise is still rather obscure. Many a local historian, it is true, had long ago noticed that there was a certain connection between the two movements which in some respects are so different and yet in many points similar, even though no one has yet actually undertaken a scientific proof of this connection. Until the present time, the problem of the relationship between Anabaptism and Pietism has not been studied either in terms of local history or in terms of the general history of culture. The reason for this is apparently two-fold, namely that the necessary sources for such a study are very sparse, and second, that the transition form between the two movements does not admit any sharp characterization. My own study of the problem must also be considered only as a stimulus to more thorough study of this very significant historical problem. It was occasioned by the discovery of a new Swiss source which cast considerable light on the entire problem.

The Anabaptist movement, as it is commonly analyzed, falls into three major divisions: the Mennonites of Holland and Northwest Germany, the Swiss Brethren in Switzerland and South and West Germany, and finally the Hutterian Brethren in former Austria and Hungary. All three sectors of the Anabaptist movement have continued as living groups to the present time. However, the

Mennonites of Holland and the Hutterians had only occasional minor contacts with Christian groups of the pietistic type, and the problem which we shall discuss concerns primarily the Swiss Anabaptist-Mennonite group. Only in this group was there that close contact with Pietism which made a significant influence and exchange possible. Holland and Hungary therefore drop out of the picture, leaving the Central European culture area of Switzerland and South Germany as the chief regions to be considered in our discussion.

It is true that occasionally in the past, relationships between Anabaptism and Pietism have been sensed or even recognized, but in no case, unfortunately, have these connections been traced in detail. However, it may be worth while noting here in summary fashion what has been written in the previous historiography of Anabaptism on this point.

(1) Goebel in his well known *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westfälischen Kirche*[1], was apparently the first to refer to Pietism as a "grandchild of Anabaptism." However he failed to enter further into the discussion of his assertions or to give evidence for the same, although he must certainly have met frequently traces of this connection in the Rhine territory.

(2) Edward Becker reports concerning Oberhessen in a very interesting fashion, that it is a fact "that a considerable number of villages which were known as centers of Anabaptism later became centers of Pietism, and in our day have become centers of the *Gemeinschaften*."[2] With this assertion Becker offers a counterpart, in a certain sense at least, to the well known theory of Ludwig Keller, which was that Anabaptism frequently arose in localities where the Waldensians had been active. Unfortunately Becker likewise does not trace his theory in detail.

(3) Pastor G. Bossert, Jr., expresses a view similar to that of Goebel, in an article entitled "Nebenkirchliche Bewegungen Württembergs."[3] Here again no further details are given in support of the thesis. G. Bossert, the elder, however, does give one reference in the introduction to his *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer,*

1. M. Goebel; *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinischwestfälischen evangelischen Kirche* vol. 2. Koblenz, 1852.

2. Eduard Becker, "Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer in Oberhessen," in *Archiv für hessische Geschichte,* Darmstadt, 1914.

3. Gustav Bossert, "Aus der nebenkirchlichen religiösen Bewegung in der Reformationszeit in Württemberg" in *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte,* Stuttgart, 1930.

Bd. I., Württemberg[4] where he comments: "In the Rems valley, social and religious movements always found a good soil (*Armer Konrad,* Anabaptism, later Separatism and Pietism)."

(4) A similar point of view is expressed by W. Wiswedel in his *Bilder und Führergestalten aus dem Täufertum* where he says, "Von den Täufern und Schwenckfeld geht der Weg über Gottfried Arnold zum Pietismus, wenn es vorläufig auch noch an jeder Möglichkeit fehlen mag, die Verbindungsfäden über den dreissigjährigen Krieg hinweg blosszulegen."[5] He admits of course in this statement that the Thirty Years War constitutes a severe break for the historian, since the sources are broken off, and that indiscernible changes took place in those years whose final effect can be detected only years afterward.

(5) The reference to Schwenckfeld is not difficult to follow through, since Schwenckfeld was really a "Pietist before Pietism" as Ecke has emphasized in his book on Schwenckfeld.[6] Of chief interest to us in this connection is Ecke's comment (page 286) that "Schwenckfeld in der Mitte zwischen Luther und den Täufern stand, und so das geeignetste Bindeglied für den späteren Pietismus, besonders in Württemberg, wurde." (More recently Emanuel Hirsch has repeated these observations in the *Festschrift für Karl Müller.*[7]) Nevertheless the historian of the church history of Württemberg failed to give us any of the details about this matter as has already been mentioned earlier.

(6) Swiss church history of the pietistic period seems to be much more thoroughly studied, thanks above all to the exceptional zeal of Paul Wernle, who has done a very thorough job of research in the origin of Pietism and its relation to other movements in his big work entitled *Schweizer Protestantismus im 18. Jahrhundert.*[8] Pietism developed in Switzerland the latest of all the countries of West Europe and Germany, and at first it appeared as a purely ecclesiastical reform movement against orthodoxy. Along side of

4. Gustav Bossert, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer, Bd. I, Herzogtum Württemberg,* Leipzig, 1930, p. xi.

5. W. Wiswedel, *Bilder und Führergestalten aus dem Täufertum,* Bd. I, Kassel, 1928, p. 39.

6. Karl Ecke, *Kaspar Schwenckfeld und die Idee einer apostolischen Reformation,* Berlin, 1911.

7. Emanuel Hirsch, "Zum Verständnis Schwenckfelds," *Festschrift für Karl Müller,* Tuebingen, 1922.

8. Paul Wernle, *Schweizer Protestantismus im* 18. *Jahrhundert, Bd. I,* Tuebingen, 1923.

Pietism however, there were still Anabaptist groups, especially in the canton of Berne, whose influence was significant. The comment by Wernle[9] is noteworthy: "Es gibt zu denken, dass das Berner Oberland, die alte Täuferheimat, nach der Auswanderung der Amischen Brüder 1711 als Hauptherd des pietistischen Laiengeistes hervortritt." It is of course correct that in this late time one can scarcely speak of any significant propaganda activity of the Anabaptist groups.

(7) Nevertheless E. Müller in his well-known book *Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer*"[10], asserts that the pietistic movement became strong not only in the Bernese Oberland but also in the Emmenthal, where, as is well known, Anabaptist-Mennonite families are still living.

(8) Wernle's observations are substantiated by a newly discovered Swiss source, concerning which I will report at length later on in this article. In a Swiss book of the year 1722, the following statement is found at the very beginning: ". . . Dass man insgemein keinen Unterschied zwischen den sogenannten Pietisten und den Wiedertäufern zu machen pflegt, und unter den gemeinen Leuten ein Pietist ein Wiedertäufern und ein Wiedertäufer ein Pietist sein muss,—die doch in Ansehung vieler Lehrpunkte voneinander ganz unterschieden sind."[11] This citation indicates quite plainly the issue. Late Anabaptism, at least in Middle Europe, *gradually became like Pietism,* (in its outward appearance), although its doctrinal system, which of course represents a much earlier phase of the movement, manifests distinctive differences from Pietism, without these differences being clearly comprehended, however.

These are the scanty results of our search for references to the problem of Anabaptism and Pietism. Before we leave this point it is of great interest to notice that there are also occasional instances of Pietism leading to Anabaptism. The most significant example of this is the history of the Carinthian exiles of the middle of the eighteenth century. The Carinthian exiles were a group of Protestant peasants who had adopted Pietism, and who being exiled by the Empress Maria Theresa on account of their faith fled from Carinthia to Transylvania. In Transylvania the majority of the exiles

9. Wernle, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

10. E. Müller, *Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer,* Frauenfeld, 1895, p. 364.

11. J. J. Wolleb, *Gespräch zwischen einem Pietisten und einem Wiedertäufer,* Basel, 1722.

at once joined the remnants of the Hutterian Brotherhood upon their first contact with them. Soon in fact they constituted the most active element in the Hutterian Brotherhood, and all of the later renewals of Hutterianism are actually due to the Carinthian converts.[12] Admittedly these Carinthian peasants were not pure Pietists, since a genuine Protestant church life had never been able to develop in Catholic Austria. However, they had at least been baptized with the pietistic spirit.

In conclusion, and in further illustration of the above point, it is worth while noting the interesting development of the modern Hutterian "Bruderhof" which was founded by Eberhard Arnold in Germany after the World War, and which recently had to migrate to England where it now exists as the Cotswold Bruderhof at Ashton Keynes, Swindon, Wiltshire. The original leaders of this Bruderhof came exclusively from the so-called *Gemeinschaftsbewegung,* the most recent form of Pietism, but there path in life finally ended in a complete adoption of Hutterianism. These people are of course fully conscious of the "temptation" to accept Pietism as a line of least resistance rather than to follow the radical commitment of Hutterianism.

Fundamental Characteristics of Anabaptism and Pietism

Without doubt we are dealing with a serious and significant problem which is worthy of historical investigation. Is the thesis that there is a certain connection between Anabaptism and Pietism at all worthy of acceptance? In other words: Is the thesis of a connection between the two movements in that period of history when Anabaptism began gradually to decline and the quiet religious movement which in a general sense is called Pietism[12a] gradually grew into strength, essential to the understanding of the two movements? There are many arguments which can be advanced both for and against this thesis. It should be remembered of course that we are dealing here with partial factors in the historic process, and not with exclusive explanations.

---

12. See the article by Loserth in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* Vol. IV, (April, 1930), "The Decline and Revival of the Hutterites," pp. 93-112, also in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* 1930, and his article on "Kärnten" in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* Bd. II, 1937, pp. 465-468.

12a. Pietism in the more narrow sense means only the ecclesiastical reform movement against orthodoxy.

Central European Anabaptism died out in many ways. In some cases it returned to the national church of the land, in others it led to indifference or rationalistic attitudes, in some it brought a thorough moralization of religion, in others it resulted in a freezing into a narrow sectarian system, and in still others finally it was transformed into pietistic subjectivism.

Pietism likewise had various origins, even though it is not possible to give detailed evidence in every case. In addition to the Anabaptistic influence which we are proposing to consider, there is also the spiritualism of the sixteenth century, then the mysticism of Johann Arndt, Jacob Böhme, Valentine Weigel, and even of Angelus Silesius, also naturally Schwenkfeldian ideas, the spirit of reform in the church, and a humanistic interest in the inner life. It is possible that even rationalism exerted its influence in similar fashion to the Socinianism and unitarianism of the sixteenth century. All of these origins or roots have been frequently noted and to some extent examined, except the Anabaptist factor which has been overlooked. The reason for this oversight is primarily because the history of Anabaptism has been practically ignored in the official historiography of the church and also because the sources of later Anabaptism have been still less exploited than those of the earlier period.

It is also true that quite significant considerations may be offered to weigh against the proposed connection between Anabaptism and Pietism. At the very outset it is to be noted that there is a significant sociological difference in the provenance of the two movements, since the two without doubt arose in general out of quite different social classes. Anabaptism practically everywhere made its greatest inroads into that portion of the population which was most religiously active. At least this was the case among the Swiss and the Hutterian Brethren. It was the active peasant groups which were ready to follow this road, and which had the strength to resist any moderation of their principles. In the cities, among the craftsmen, the workers, the merchants or the educated classes, Anabaptism found little response, at least after the early years.[13] Only Dutch Anabaptism constituted an exception to this rule, for in Holland it is true that the Brethren gradually became prosperous merchants in the larger cities. This development was radically different from the development of Anabaptism in Central European territory.

13. Paul Dedic, "The Social Background of the Austrian Anabaptists," in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* Vol. XIII (January, 1939), pp. 5-20.

On the other hand Pietism found its strongest response among these very elements in the cities and towns, whereas it found very little response in the country. Since the Carinthian exiles referred to above were peasant farmers, this is probably the reason why they were so ready to join the Hutterian Brethren from their very first contact with them even though they had been influenced earlier in a pietistic direction.

In a city like Augsburg for instance, the Anabaptist movement in its early years found considerable following. However, twenty years later, by the middle of the sixteenth century, it gradually died out there, with the remnants of the movement gathered into a quiet type of *Konventikelchristentum* or participating in the Schwenckfeldian movement. Both of these latter developments can easily be thought of as a certain type of early Pietism.[14] It should also be remembered that in Switzerland, in the Jura and the Emmental, it was the Anabaptism of the peasant farmers which was able to maintain itself, even though only in the form of a remnant. Again, the missionary attempts of the Moravian Brethren under Zinzendorf among the Hutterian Brethren in Hungary were a complete failure.

In spite of the above observations, there are a number of other reasons which would lead us to believe in the possibility of connections between Anabaptism and Pietism. Anabaptism was essentially a movement which insisted upon an earnest and uncompromising endeavor to live a life of a true discipleship of Christ, that is to give expression in fellowship and love to the deepest Christian faith, with full readiness to suffer in conflict with the evil world order. So long as this willingness to suffer as an expression of deepest faith, and this readiness to enter into a nonresistant struggle for salvation, was a living reality, just so long was Anabaptism a great and powerful movement. Fellowship and suffering were the outward marks, but an inmost Christian experience was the foundation which made the outward marks possible. Wherever and as soon as these inner forces declined and consequently the readiness to suffer or to migrate to a distant land ceased to exist (and this is to be noted among the Anabaptists after 1600 in practically all of Central Europe) the situation changed completely. There were still numerous groups of Anabaptists in existence, but they held their faith

14. See for instance Johann Loserth, "Pilgram Marbeck, Sein Leben und Werk," *Quellen und Forschungen*, Wien, 1929, pp. 1-60, and Friedrich Roth, *Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte*, Bd. IV, 1911.

more in quiet or in secret, and were more concerned to have the personal experience of salvation than to work it out in a radical following of Christ. This quietistic tendency, however, brings us very near to the pietistic attitude.

Pietism in the larger sense is a quiet conventicle-Christianity which is primarily concerned with the inner experiences of salvation and only secondarily with the expression of love toward the brotherhood, and not at all in a radical world transformation. Neither Anabaptism nor Pietism lay the primary weight on theology and dogmatics; both seek the inner experience of a true piety. But, whereas in Anabaptism a decisive element is the goal of spreading the Gospel, and everything personal is pressed into the background, Pietism on the other hand is in its essence pure subjectivity. It is of no moment to us here to distinguish how far Pietism was an ecclesiastical reform movement and how far it found expression outside of the organized churches, or even, as in Herrnhut, created a new church. A decisive element in Pietism seems to be the creation of quiet groups for the practice of piety which were not intended to take up the conflict with the world. This also assumed the belief in the possibility of a holy life, of the new birth, which could be lived within the frame work of middle-class life of the times. Among the Anabaptists "the cross" was consciously the leader in life's destiny and signified practical opposition against the evil world, whereas in Pietism "the cross" was more a symbol of an emotional experience such as is suggested by the "Sweet Saviour" of Zinzendorf (*Süsse Heiland*). The pietist ceased to lay the emphasis upon the outer life which was in any case unsatisfactory, but rather upon the pure inner perfecting of holiness, on the possession of Christ in prayer, song, sacrament, and fellowship. In brief, his purpose was edification, enjoying or "tasting" of salvation which had already been achieved. Without doubt a genuine and high morality was developed among many pietistic groups and brought to nearly as high a level as was the case formerly in Anabaptism, and this may have led to strong connections between the two movements. But this Pietistic morality acquired another meaning. It ultimately meant for the pietist, apparently, the gradual disappearance of that concrete Christianity which had been the goal of the original Anabaptists, and the substitution for it of an experience-Christianity which no longer caused the authorities of state or church any trouble. So the

pietist made peace with the world as it is, and in spite of his sincere intentions to achieve a real *Christlichkeit,* avoided or eliminated the friction and opposition which he would otherwise have had to face. Without doubt many Anabaptists ultimately also followed this road, without being conscious of what they were doing. It was the easiest way and yet a "Christian" way.

Many things were common possessions of the two groups. Both groups justified their policy on the basis of the leadership of the Holy Spirit, which taught them the correct understanding of the Scriptures. Both claimed to live directly out of the Bible, that is, neither had confidence in a Christianity of the theologians and scholars. Both were seriously concerned with a Christian reality which lies beyond church and worship, although they understood the ultimate nature of this Christian reality differently. After all how could it be decided who possessed the "right" Holy Spirit except through the evidence of the same in life.

The historical function of the relationship of the two groups in their reciprocal influencing of one another can be examined in three aspects. (1) As the influence of Anabaptism on Pietism, insofar as Anabaptism preceded Pietism and developed strong religious forces. This influence is to be sought not only in the origins of Pietism, which would need to be demonstrated by the students of local history, but also in its later developments, particularly in religious literature. (2) As a great temptation which Pietism presented to later Anabaptism to make its course easier under the pressure of state and church which became unbearable and which took place after the great inner power of the sixteenth century had declined. (3) Finally, as the occasion for extensive and to some extent fruitful discussions between the two movements concerning this fundamental position. These discussions took place for instance in the very earliest stages of Pietism when they were in essence outspoken conflicts, but there were also discussions in the later period which were more of a friendly and at times missionary character. The very fact of these discussions, which continued until the beginning of the nineteenth century, proves however that the supposed transfers from Anabaptism to Pietism which are mentioned in writings on this subject could not have been so extensive as might be supposed. The Anabaptists for the most part continued faithful and loyal to their own faith, and accepted the heavy burden of persecutions and

migrations willingly. However, their number declined, both because accessions became fewer and fewer, and apparently also because the rural population was inclined to join the new pietistic movement, insofar as it was not in the state church or did not become indifferent. The pietistic movement on the other hand was not so new as sometimes it seems to us. Already in the sixteenth century the Schwenckfelder movement, which has so much similarity to Pietism, had won a large following in the cities.

The real turning point in the spiritual history of Central Europe was without doubt the period of the Thirty Years War. Before this time Anabaptism was still everywhere active in extending its borders, whereas after the time of this great tragedy in European history we find only for the most part those quiet groups which have been mentioned above. But even this war could not destroy the religious and moral influence of Anabaptism. It was to rise again in spirit in other and newer forms of expression.

Research in the Local History of Transfer Movements

Our report concerning the manifestations of transfers from Anabaptism to Pietism which have hitherto become known, and which we have earlier also indicated as a "temptation" to take the easier way, will be quite brief. We do not know the extent of this movement, which took place in a clandestine fashion. We only know that it took place. The confirmation of this was given in the authors named in the introduction.

The chief reason why so little is known about the origin of Pietism in the larger sense, is the fact that a quiet conventicle-Christianity outside of the regular church life, would naturally not call the attention of the authorities to itself, particularly in the light of the existing Anabaptist spirit. Hence documentary material bearing on the early movement will probably be found only in exceptional cases. But even then such material would not likely give an insight into the essence of what was happening. It was an indiscernible movement, as practically all religious movements are in their beginnings, a movement which spread in part only from mouth to mouth and in part through anonymous tracts that were soon destroyed in the general chaos of the Thirty Years War. The tracts which have been preserved and are still extant have not been studied.

Students of local history may also not have had the necessary vision to pursue such subtle problems in detail. It is quite remarkable for instance that the so-called Reformation research stops in many territories with the decade 1550-1560 so that later decades still lie entirely in the dark. This is true for instance of Augsburg, as is evidenced in the work of Roth. Certainly there is much material in local history which, if assembled, could forward our study a great deal. This would be especially true in the Rhineland, in the Palatinate, and in Württemberg,[15] Hesse and Switzerland.

We must at once call attention to a common error in conceiving our theme. It is true that Anabaptism derives its name from its rejection of infant baptism and the practice of adult baptism. This new baptism was in its day the common mark of all these groups. It was to them the "seal" of the new birth, the inner pledge of readiness to take up the new and hard way of discipleship of Christ. However, the fact of adult baptism as such is not the essential characteristic according to which a group is to be judged or conceived. In all times there have been larger and smaller groups, which, out of a strict obedience to the Bible have refused to let their children be baptized, without these groups otherwise having any connection with the Anabaptists. We would be led far from the path if we should endeavor to trace the conflict against infant baptism down through the centuries. For this reason the rejection of infant baptism here and there in pietistic or separatistic groups has no significance at all for our study. We learn, for example in connection with the separatists in Aischgrunde in the eighteenth century that the

---

15. The Rems valley has already been mentioned in the introduction. Only in Württemberg was Pietism a genuinely popular movement, whereas in other regions it was primarily a matter only of the more open-minded theologians. Ernst Troeltsch claims in his great work, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Bd. I, 1911, p. 834, footnote 459, that this extensive spread of Pietism is due to the fact that in Württemberg the nobility had much less significance, whereas the free peasants were particularly disposed toward a religious individualism. This spirit manifested itself especially in separatistic peasant movements among which was also a pietistic separatism. Is there not likely here a connection with Anabaptist "separation" from the world? It is to be sure not quite correct to say that the peasants were exponents of individualism, and further studies on this point would be very helpful. (See on this entire problem also Kalbe, *Kirchen und Sekten der Gegenwart*, 1910.) It should also be called to mind here that it was in Württemberg, in Bad Boll, that the Blumhardts, father and son, labored so successfully. The great goal of the latter was quite clearly a return from the "Gemeinschaftsbewegung" (that is, from the Pietism of the nineteenth century) to the roots of the primitive Christian way of life, that is, to something quite like Anabaptist thinking. Today the Boll institution is administered by the Moravians, and we note again the same transformation which is our very theme.

pietists of that region refused to let their children be baptized.[16] However, the motives of this group have no connection at all with the earlier Anabaptists, and therefore the history of this movement has little significance for our study. It is only observations such as those made by Becker on Hesse or Wernle on Switzerland which can really help us, and these help only insofar as they can be proved by detailed data. But as yet, we have not come so far as to have this data.

Observations from the Point of View of the History of Ideas

a. *The Influence of Anabaptism on Pietism*

Edificatory Literature

More important for our problem than the research in local history is without doubt research in the field of cultural history, which undertakes to trace the survival of Anabaptist ideas in later centuries on the basis of printed literary sources such as books and pamphlets. Research in this field should be productive in disclosing the influence of Anabaptism on the origin of Pietism and in its later spiritual interests.

We are familiar with this type of historical research, even though it has as yet made little contribution to the history of Anabaptism. A "History of Spiritualism", such as Hegler, the interpreter of Sebastian Franck, had planned in his time, has not yet been written. Such a work would make important contribution to our theme. Rufus Jones' fine book, *Spiritual Reformers of the Sixteenth Century,*[17] is, it is true, a significant attempt in this direction, but it limits itself to the exhibition of great personalities with Jakob Böhme in the center of interest. Johannes Kühns' rich book *Toleranz und Offenbarung,*[18] is perhaps the best work available in this general field, but it again emphasizes more the conflicts, differences, and parallelism of the two movements than the historic interrelation with which we are concerned. A literary survey of the writings of the Anabaptists (what might be called a history of Anabaptist litera-

16. Schaudig, *Der Pietismus und Separatismus in Aischgrunde,* 1925.

17. Rufus Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* New York, 1914.

18. Johannes Kühn, *Toleranz und Offenbarung, Eine Untersuchung der Motive und Motivformen im offenbarungsgläubigen Protestantismus, zugleich ein Versuch zur neueren Religions- und Geistesgeschichte,* Berlin, 1923.

BERKELEY BAPTIST DIVINITY SCHOOL
SANDFORD FLEMING LIBRARY

ture) does not exist so far as I know.[19] Only the hymns of the Brethren have been treated in a comprehensive fashion in Rudolf Wolkan's work in 1903.[20] But hymns are very seldom attached to individual groups, certainly much less than other writings, and therefore can contribute little to our problem. Pamphlet literature for the period of the Reformation, which is very important for our theme, has been thoroughly studied only as far as 1550. [For example the work of Hagen in 1844[21] and more recently the work of Schottenloher.[22] See also Loserth's article on "Pamphlets" in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon.*[23] No mention is made here of course of bibliographies as such.] For the later period no study has been made at all in this field, as has been mentioned above. On the other hand the edificatory literature has been studied extensively only for the period following the Thirty Years War. The religio-cultural conditions between 1550 and 1600 are practically untouched by research, except for certain significant individual figures. Here everything remains to be done. H. Bornkam, who has thoroughly sifted the results of research in this field in his 1926 lecture entitled *Mystik, Spiritualismus und die Anfänge des Pietismus* discovered nothing about the forerunners of Pietism in the larger sense. According to Bornkam historiography has not succeeded in going beyond the work of Ritschl in 1883. "Ueber die Bildung spiritualistischer Kreise wissen wir noch sehr wenig."[24] This complaint Bornkam repeats in connection with each separate problem discussed, and it is a notable complaint in a field which otherwise has been the subject of such intensive research.

It is true that a number of somewhat important personalities whose influence extended beyond their time are well known and well studied. One of them is Johannes Arndt, whose mystical Christianity certainly has contributed considerably to the transformation of

---

19. There is not even a complete bibliography of Anabaptism available, except for America. See H. S. Bender's *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature,* Goshen, Indiana, 1929.

20. R. Wolkan, *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer,* Berlin, 1903.

21. K. Hagen, *Deutschlands literarische und religiöse Verhältnisse im Reformationszeitalter,* Frankfurt, 1841-44.

22. Karl Schottenloher, *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung,* 1517-1585, Leipzig, 1933-35.

23. J. Loserth, Article, "Flugschriften," *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* Bd. I, 1913, pp. 656-658.

24. H. Bornkam, *"Mystik, Spiritualismus und die Anfänge des Pietismus,* 1926. A. Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus,* Bonn, 1880-1883.

the spirits. Another is Philipp Andreä, the Utopian-Rosicrucian Württemberger, and of course above all Gottfried Arnold.

Gottfried Arnold's *Ketzerchronik*[25] actually played a sort of mediating role between Anabaptism and Pietism insofar as the history of Anabaptist achievements, manner of life, and in part doctrine, was brought by it into contact with the movement of Arnold's time. E. Seeberg, who has given us a rather extensive study of this book[26] considers the Anabaptist influence to be only one factor, and that not the most important factor in this work. Nevertheless Arnold's great interest in Anabaptism constitutes a significant argument for our thesis.

It is certainly no chance, that only a short time before Arnold the learned Otte (Ottius) in Basel undertook something similar to Arnold's work in his book of 1672 which was later used so much, namely, *Annales Anabaptistici*[27] which was the first objective collection of sources about Anabaptism produced by a non-Anabaptist. A religious world of the second half of the seventeenth century in which Pietism had already taken a leading role, thus had indicated its interest in Anabaptism. It felt, even though in no clear way, its inner relationship to it.

So much for the individual men. In all of these studies we learn practically nothing about the religious life of the larger circles of the population. One might assume that quiet little groups sprang up, in which the boundary line between the various confessions or organized churches was easily overcome. Such groups were at one and the same time, in a certain sense at least, spiritualistic, mystic, related to Anabaptism, or in a sense early pietistic. However, there are a number of facts which permit certain conclusions and approximate understanding of the conditions among these larger areas of the population.

An instructive example of this from the relative early time may suffice to make the point clear. Augsburg was earlier mentioned as an especially well-known place where active religious movements took place. In Augsburg in 1527 the much discussed so-called "Martyr Synod" was held in which Hans Hut, Hans Denck, Eitelhans Langenmantel and many other leading Anabaptists took part.

25. Gottfried Arnold, *Unpartheische Kirchen und Ketzerhistorie*, 1699.

26. Erich Seeberg, "Gottfried Arnold, die Wissenschaft und Mystik seiner Zeit," *Studien zur Historiographie und zur Mystik*, 1923.

27. J. Ottius, *Annales Anabaptistici*, Basiliae, 1672.

Later they had to follow the road to a martyr's death.[28] It is probable that the pamphlet by Hans Denck entitled *Von der wahren Liebe*[29] bears a certain connection to this theme, and that it in one sense serves as the confessional book of the Anabaptist movement which at that time was still unclarified and lacking in leading books.[30] This booklet presents the doctrine of the new birth and the new way of life. It has been said that Hans Denck, like later Pietists (for example Spener in the *Vorrede zu Arndts Postille*[31]) held the view that the regenerated no longer sinned. Actually Denck meant something quite different, namely, not that one achieves sinlessness once and for all, but that one may hope for an ultimate victory over sin as the outcome of a continuous struggle. "So hoch mag die Anfechtung nicht sein im Auserwählten, der Widerstand und Sieg ist noch viel stärker . . . ." Nevertheless there are noticeable points of contact between the spirit of this book and the spirit of later Pietism in its best representatives.

Long after Denck's death in the year 1550, surprisingly, a second edition of this book appeared in Augsburg, which contained many changes and omissions. Who published the book, who had an interest in it, who caused the omission of the three sections "Vom Tauff," "Vom Gelübde und Eidschwören," "Von der Christen Obrigkeit und Krieg,"[32] we do not know. But it may be assumed that Augsburg, as Roth pictures it in his excellent history of the Reformation in Augsburg,[33] was at this time as earlier a city of considerable religious tolerance, but had sloughed off the radicalism of the earlier years altogether. In addition to the Schwenckfelder group, another type of conventicle Christianity had arisen, which was interested in edificatory literature, but not in books of a revolutionary character. (I use the word revolutionary naturally in the sense of a Christian spiritual revolution as the Anabaptists meant it.) Denck's book had not been forgotten in such circles, and the desire for such books was great. So anonymous editors were found who transformed the Anabaptist confessional book into one of the first pietistical edifica-

28. Christian Hege, Article, "Augsburger Täufergemeinde," *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* Bd. I, 1913, pp. 92-96.

29. Hans Denk, *Von der Wahren Liebe* (Reprinted at Elkhart, Indiana, 1888).

30. Robert Friedmann, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* Bd. XXIX, 1932, pp. 1f.

31. Spener, "Pia Desideria"—the preface to J. Arndt's *Postille,* 1675.

32. Robert Friedmann, *op. cit.,* pp. 14-16.

33. F. Roth, *Reformationsgeschichte der Stadt Augsburg,* vol. 4, 1911.

tory books. This revision of the Denck book thus proves indirectly the invisible change which was going on at that time and to which we have earlier referred.[34] Naturally what happened in Augsburg can only be called "pietistic" in a very remote sense, but the direction of the development is nevertheless indicated by this event. Certainly a similar transformation was taking place in many other localities. The populace demanded more than Luther's doctrine concerning sin and justification, they demanded instruction regarding a new and holy life of regeneration, without of course being at the same time ready or willing to assume all the "dangerous" elements of Anabaptism, or indeed of any radical kind of Christianity. Hence it took only certain changes to make the precious old literature of the Anabaptists serviceable for the new purpose and the new spirit.

Karl Holl has defended the thesis that only with Pietism was a German edificatory literature created, just as he attributes to Pietism the achievement of having for the first time transformed the personal letter into a literary form as an expression of an inward religious experience. That both of Holl's theses are not acceptable has already been indicated by the official historians, but due to the lack of sufficient research in the anonymous edificatory literature of earlier times, and due also to the lack of research in the manuscript materials of an epistolary character[35] has not been sufficiently emphasized. In this area there is a very fruitful field for research in cultural history which would make its contribution not only to our own theme but also to more general questions.

Writings of the survey type in this field have been scarce and they constitute only a small contribution to our theme. H. Beck's book *Die Erbauungsliteratur der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands*[36] is really to be considered only as a collection of material. However, it is worth noting in the light of his book, that this type of literature suddenly increases greatly after 1600. That is just at the time when Anabaptism was in a gradual decline.

---

34. This book appeared in 1550 shortly before Marpeck, the fiery leader of South German Anabaptism, died (1556) in the quiet and seclusion of his residence in Augsburg, no longer disturbed by any of the authorities in his last years. Marpeck's great book, *Verantwortung,* was written about 1542, although not published until the Loserth edition of 1929.

35. This is especially true of the Hutterian Brethren. See Friedmann, "Die Briefe der oesterreichischen Täufer," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* Bd. XXVI, 1929.

36. Hermann Beck, *Die Erbauungsliteratur der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands,* I, 1883.

Very useful for the understanding of this change in spirit is the figure of Johannes Arndt (1555-1621). In his book on this Protestant mystic[37] W. Koepp demonstrates convincingly that the pietistic type of religious life was actually present as early as 1600 in Germany. By this Koepp means, it is true, that the doctrine of justification by faith, which was Luther's contribution, was replaced by a Protestant mysticism which was very similar to the medieval Jesus-mysticism. Arndt, according to Koepp, is the real "father of Pietism," who transformed the doctrine of the *word,* as Luther understood it, into an ethical doctrine, and thereby ethically perverted the experience of justification. This is the conception of a strict Lutheran historian. Thereby Arndt created the new type of Protestant piety which was characterized by an undogmatic inwardness. "The Kingdom of God is within you," that is the central thought of Arndt's book of 1605 entitled *Wahres Christentum.*[38] This is especially brought out in the sixth chapter of the third book which is entitled, "Wie sich das höchste ewige Gut oft in unserer Seele ereignet in einem Augenblicke." The second book, however, treats of the religio-ethical practice of the imitation of Christ, which is of course understood quite differently among the Anabaptists. Arndt considers it to be a wholly inward process. In 1612 Arndt published his *Das Paradiesgärtlein voller christlicher Tugenden* which is a model for all later edificatory books of the German church. It is well known that Pietism in the strict sense (especially Spener) goes directly back to Arndt.

In conclusion, the writing by P. Althaus, Sr., deserves mention, entitled *Zur Charakteristik der evangelischen Gebetsliteratur im Reformationsjahrhundert.*[39] Althaus also calls attention to the change in the type of piety of Lutheran Protestantism. He endeavors, however, to explain the change more on the basis of influences coming from medieval Catholicism and its survivals. It is doubtful, however, whether this influence ever extended beyond theological circles, since the populace in general had much less understanding for a mystical piety than for an "ethicized" Christianity; that is, a type of Christianity which expressed itself more in the practical

37. W. Koepp, *Johannes Arndt, eine Untersuchung über die Mystik im Luthertum,* Berlin, 1912, p. 9.

38. Johann Arndt, *Sechs Bücher des Wahren Christenthums,* 1605.

39. P. Althaus, Sr., *Zur Charakteristik der evangelischen Gebetsliteratur im Reformationsjahrhundert,* 1914.

things of life. And just this is what is not found in the official literature of the church, which is almost exclusively the subject of research, but rather in the pamphlets and small tracts, which were zealously spread throughout the country by unknown missionaries. How little we know about this literature! There is no doubt that among these itinerant missionaries there must have been numerous Anabaptist apostles, who traveled wherever the German language was understood. Copious evidence of the activity of the Hutterian apostles substantiates this assertion.[40] We know little about the details of this type of evangelism but we see many of its effects, effects which permit conclusions about the movement as a whole, as was the case in Augsburg as mentioned above.

An example of this type of literature appeared at Amsterdam in 1680, at a time when Pietism was already fully developed, in the form of an anonymous edificatory book entitled *Das geistliche Blumengärtlein.* In this book long forgotten writings of Anabaptist leaders were brought together by an unknown editor. The booklet contains writings by Hans Denck, Hans Hut, Jörg Hauck von Juchsen, Eitelhans Langenmantel, and in addition an extensive dogmatic writing of biblicistic character, which is attributed by the editor to Denck, but in reality is a collective production of the Hutterian brethren from the time of about 1545 and which probably had Peter Walpot as its editor. This last writing had never appeared in print before, and we have no way of knowing how it fell into the hands of the publisher.[41] Thus material which 150 years earlier had been a powerful testimony of a new life as the Anabaptists understood it, namely the following of Christ to the very point of a complete communism of goods, this now in 1680 had become a characteristic edificatory writing of pietistic circles. The origin of the document had been forgotten and was not only unknown but of absolutely no interest to the compiler. The compiler evidently felt the appeal of these testimonies of a living Christian faith which was beyond the area of organized church life, and so overlooked in some way the real extremes of the demands which were contained in this material especially in the Hutterian tract. It is true of course that he no

40. See Loserth's first articles written in 1895, and his articles "Aussendung" and "Mission" in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon.*

41. On this point, see Schwabe in *Zeitschrift für Reformationsgeschichte,* 1912, and Friedmann, in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* 1931-32.

longer had any knowledge of the groups which produced this material, but had only their writing at his disposal.

It is worthy of note at this point, that this anonymous *Geistliches Blumengärtlein* appeared at approximately the same time as Gottfried Arnold's *Ketzerchronik* and Otte's *Annales Anabaptistici.* The interest in Anabaptism had become very lively, for men felt a spiritual kinship to these writings and were attracted by them and strengthened in their own living through the report of "true Christians" or "the quiet in the land," reports concerning saints regenerated and martyred.

The *Geistliches Blumengärtlein* was naturally only a sample of other books, being by chance the one which has become better known. A generation after its appearance, we meet similar literary productions in Halle an der Saale. Here in 1717 the well-known pietist and inspector of the Francke Orphanage, J. D. Herrnschmidt, published a book with the title *Neue und mit Anmerkungen versehene Ausgabe Wolfgang Vogels merkwürdigen Send schreibens von der Beständigkeit im Bekenntnisse der evangelischen Wahrheit, an die christliche Gemeinde zu Bopfingen gestaltet."* The book is a resurrection of a sort of call to repentance of genuine Anabaptist origin of the year 1526. According to it a Christian man should not fear but should openly confess his faith. "Christentum ist keine Winkelsache, keine Schmuggelware, . . . Darum liebe Brüder schweigt nicht still, tut, wie die lieben Aposteln getan haben, die sprachen: man muss Gott mehr gehorchen denn den Menschen."[42] The author of this genuinely stirring writing is Wolfgang Vogel, formerly pastor at Eltersdorf, who was baptized by Hans Hut, and was executed at Nürnberg for his faith in 1527. Since Herrnschmidt was originally a deacon in Bopfingen (Württemberg) it is quite probable that he had discovered in some archives there the above writing which had been sent to Bopfingen as a "Sendbrief und christliche Ermahnung an einen ehrbaren Rat und die ganze Gemein . . . ."[43] Perhaps he had in fact deliberately sought to find predecessors of his own pietistic views. Naturally he understood the booklet which he had found quite differently than it was originally intended by its author of the sixteenth century. However, since he felt a kinship

42. W. Wiswedel, *Bilder und Führergestalten aus dem Täufertum,* I, Kassel, 1928, p. 152 sq., where an extensive bibliography may also be found.

43. *Ibid.*

with its contents he now offered it to his brethren in the faith modernized with his own annotations.[44]

No doubt many more examples of this type of literature could be found as a result of a systematic search of the sources of pietistic edificatory literature. In particular, it may be assumed that the manuscript letters of the Hutterian Brethren, circulated in large numbers in the sixteenth century in Germany, were here and there re-read, and thereby stimulated the epistolary literature of Pietism which is somewhat akin in spirit to the earlier Hutterian letters.

Discussions between Anabaptists and Pietists

Our study to this point has proceeded from two quite definite inquiries. The first inquiry was to what extent did Anabaptism change into a pietistic form, that is, how far did it fall under the temptation of the easier way? The second inquiry was, how much of an influence was exerted by Anabaptism on the spiritual leadership of Pietism, an influence which was to be expected because of the similarity of the two types of piety. We must now enlarge these two inquiries to include the discussions which occurred (and were necessary) between Anabaptists and Pietists, but which led only to a more precise definition of the standpoint of each, without in any way resulting in an assimilation of the two. These discussions were probably welcomed by the two sides, since they give both an occasion for a clarification of their own deepest convictions.

Opportunities for such discussions, it should be remarked, were never lacking for the Anabaptists. On countless occasions they were compelled to give an account before the authorities of state and church. Perhaps it was easier, however, to give an account of one's faith to the openly disclosed enemy than to groups with which one was not in the same way in conflict, at least insofar as they represented a biblical Christianity. One would necessarily have to reply to the arguments of such opponents in a quite different fashion in order to clarify the differences.

As said above, from the very beginning of its history Anabaptism was compelled to take part in such discussions. If Anabaptist literature were better known today, we would be surprised at the numerous reports of debates and similar encounters which have been preserved. This situation however, existed not only in the be-

44. *Ibid.*

ginning of the movement but appeared repeatedly in the later centuries of its history. Noteworthy, however, is a very characteristic change in the nature of the discussions, as time went on. Whereas in the sixteenth century, the greatest century of the Anabaptist movement these discussions were usually quite vehement and of a polemic-apologetic type, arising out of a "conflict," the later discussions were more subdued and to a certain degree friendly, with the evident purpose of winning the opponent through explanations and mutual exchange. A different time had come for the Anabaptists. Nevertheless these materials give a moving testimony of the steadfastness and conviction of even the later Anabaptist groups.

It is without question, that in the very beginning of the religious changes of the sixteenth century there were groups quite similar in tendency to later Pietism (Pietism always understood in the broadest sense of the word). Above all there was the group which gathered around the frequently mentioned Kaspar Schwenckfeld, who has been very well characterized as "the Zinzendorf of the sixteenth century." Then there were the Bohemian Brethren, with the remnant of which Zinzendorf united, and also perhaps the more rationalistic Polish Brethren with their strongly emphasized moralism. Similar developments took place in West and North Germany no doubt, and a discussion of these would enlarge the picture. However, I do not propose to pursue this aspect in the present discussion.

Schwenckfeld is a typical pietistic counter-part of early Anabaptism. He was a real counter force, as comes out so plainly for instance in Augsburg.[45] It was against him that Pilgram Marpeck wrote his great polemic writing in 1542, this most thorough and most profound debate of Anabaptism with all those who wanted to look at Christianity only from the pleasant and friendly side.[46] Since Marpeck's work has been discussed recently a great deal, we may content ourselves here with only a brief reference to material which relates to our theme. The decisive formulation of Marpeck's fundamental point is to be found in the 47th "Rede und Antwort" in the *Verantwortung*.[47] Here Marpeck says: "Schwenckfeld lehrt nur das Innerliche, und den verklärten, herrlichen, unleidenden Christum

45. See note 33 above.

46. *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der oberdeutschen Taufgesinnten im 16. Jahrhundert. Pilgram Marbecks Antwort auf Kaspar Schwenkfelds Beurteilung des Buches der Bundesbezeugung von 1542.* Wien und Leipzig, 1929.

47. *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

im Himmel, und nicht den leidenden auf Erden, Ja (er lehrt) nur das Wort von seiner Glorie und Herrlichkeit, und nicht von seinem Kreuz und Trübsal, wie er es vor der Verklärung und Himmelfahrt hat tragen, und (wie es) noch heute seinem unverklärten Leibe zu tragen gebührt." Crown of thorns against a halo, the bitter against the sweet Saviour, that in one brief formula is the continuing antithesis which is the center of our entire problem. Following after Christ in suffering, versus the enjoyment of the assurance of salvation among the regenerated, this antithesis no doubt had appeared in much earlier times, and has continued to our own day. It is true that Schwenckfeld himself was much more "concrete" in his teaching than the men of the eighteenth century, and therefore stronger, and that he was only therefore to a certain extent a forerunner of Pietism. However, the problem which is involved in the Schwenckfeld-Marpeck antithesis remained the same in later time.

In many respects similar to Schwenckfeld was the movement which Gabriel Ascherham founded. It was not very extensive and did not last very long, possibly from 1533 to 1545, or even 1565. We have become well acquainted with it through the work of Wiswedel in his article in the *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* entitled "Gabriel Ascherham und die nach ihm benannte Bewegung."[48] It would to be sure be incorrect to identify this movement with early Pietism, nevertheless it is worth while to include it here since the very uncertainty of the relation of this movement to the other movements of the time led to various religious debates, to epistolary exchanges and to missionary activities on the part of the Anabaptists. Wiswedel remarks in this connection that the Gabrielite brethren were able to merge themselves later with the most various and most widely differing groups, "in Moravia with the Hutterian brethren on the one hand, with the Bohemian-Moravian Brethren on the other hand, in Silesia with the Schwenckfelders and in Prussia with the Mennonites."[49] In 1545 appeared Ascherham's very interesting writing entitled *Unterschied göttlicher und menschlicher Weisheit,*"[50] which emphasizes expressly the antithesis of his views to Anabaptism. (It must not be forgotten that Ascherham originally came from the Anabaptists). Baptism he indicates is nonessential, sim-

48. W. Wiswedel, "Gabriel Ascherham und die nach ihm benannte Bewegung," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* Bd. XXXIV, 1937.

49. Wiswedel, *op. cit.,* p. 8.

50. Gabriel Ascherham, *Unterschied göttlicher und menschlicher Weisheit,* 1545.

ilarly to Schwenckfeld.[51] He represents a spiritualistic type of religion. "Niemand ist in der christlichen Kirche, er habe denn den Heiligen Geist. Weder Glaube noch Geist kann aus der Schrift genommen werden. Diese ist uns nur gegeben zu einer Lehr, Zucht und Unterweisung. Aber nur dem, der darin geübte Sinne hat und den Heiligen Geist empfangen hat . . . Darum will ich die Kinder des Geistes und des Buchstabens unterschieden haben."[52] Of the suffering of Christ's followers he says nothing. In contrast to the typical spiritualist who usually stood alone, he gathered around himself a group similar to that around Schwenckfeld, whose purpose primarily was common prayer and celebration of the Lord's supper. The Anabaptist replied to him[53] and Peter Walpot also, who was mentioned earlier, was "busy in the work of the Lord" in Silesia. After Ascherham's death a number of the Gabrielite brethren came to Moravia where there were given to them expositions of the essentials of Anabaptism and where the opposing views were clearly set forth in long discussions. A report of these discussions is apparently to be found in the Hutterian *Geschichtbuch.*[54] It is also very probable that the so-called *Grosse Artikelbuch*[55] of the Hutterians has some relation to these debates. These discussions therefore ultimately led to a fruitful outcome, namely to a genuine clarification. Other Gabrielite brethren had similar discussions with the Bohemian Brethren.

Of little consequence, and therefore also little noticed to the present time, are the connections between the Hutterian brethren and the Bohemian Moravian Brethren (*Brüderunität*). In his excellent work *Die Berührung der alten und neuen Brüderunität mit den Täufern,*[56] J. Th. Müller has gathered together all the available material but the result is very scant and uninteresting. Nevertheless

---

51. "Weil unser Heil nicht auf der Taufe beruht, sondern allein auf dem Verdienst das Jesus Christus uns durch seinen Tod erworben hat."

52. Wiswedel, *op. cit.*, p. 11. As to the meaning of the expression: "Kinder des Geistes und des Buchstabens," take "children of the letter" for the Anabaptists and "children of spirit" for Ascherham's own group.

53. Friedmann, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* 1931, p. 99.

54. *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder,* (Edited by R. Wolkan), Wien, 1923, pp. 195-200.

55. See Friedmann, "Eine dogmatische Hauptschrift" etc. *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte,* 1931. The *Grosse Artikelbuch* is still available in manuscript form among the Hutterians.

56. J. Th. Müller, "Die Berührungen der alten und neuen Brüderunität mit den Täufern," *Zeitschrift für Brüdergeschichte,* 1910.

it is noteworthy that although Anabaptists and Moravian Brethren lived and worked side by side for a century they never had more than superficial contacts which are not reflected in any manner in literary form. The contrast between the two was too great, and the relative tolerance of the Moravian nobles permitted a peaceful existence side by side without conflict, but yet without any mutual missionary activity. Loserth also was unable to present more than unessential details in his little treatise entitled *Deutsch-böhmische Wiedertäufer,*[57] such as for instance, the report of the Bohemian synod of Jungbunzlau in 1534, which apparently decided to abolish adult baptism which until that time had been practiced by the Bohemian Brethren as a matter of obedience to the Bible. Hruby also reports no further information in his work on Karl von Zierotin.[58]

Of more interest is the contact between the Anabaptists and the Polish Brethren. The latter were a wide-spread rationalistic group, followers of the Socinians or Antitrinitarians, who interpreted the Holy Scriptures only in terms of natural reason, but in their manner of life maintained a high moral level. Since a certain group of the later Pietists also followed this general direction, it is proper to briefly refer here to the discussion between Anabaptists and this group. About 1570 a group of Polish Brethren under the leadership of the apothecary Simon Ronemberg of Krakau came to Moravia, to study the life of the Hutterian Brotherhood. They were received in a friendly fashion, were shown everything, and had the opportunity of long discussions with Hutterians. After a few weeks, however, they returned to Poland without having come to any agreement with the Hutterians. Thereupon the leader of the Hutterian Brethren, Peter Walpot, wrote two marvelous letters to Poland, which are included in their entirety in the *Geschichtbuch* of the Hutterian brethren.[59] The central thought of these letters is taken from the decisive word of the Apostle Paul in II Corinthians 10:5, where he says, "Casting down imagination, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ." "Only if this is done," says Walpot, "can there be discipleship, only then

57. J. Loserth, "Deutsch-böhmische Wiedertäufer, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformation in Böhmen," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen,* 1892.

58. Hruby, *Karl von Zierotin,* Brünn, 1937.

59. *Geschicht—Buch,* pp. 341-352.

salvation." Knowledge and reason are not enough. "Die blosse Erkenntnis und Wissenheit ist nicht genug. Ihr müsst erst durch Trübsal, Bande, Gefängnis und etwa harte Arbeit probiert und bewährt werden. Ihr schreibt und lasst euch ziemen, als habt ihr eure Vernunft gefangen genommen in Gottes Gehorsam . . . . Wo ist doch eure wahre Untergebung unter Gott, wo ist die Liebe bei euch[59a]. . . Erst muss das Leiden sein. Da würdet ihr einen Teil des Disputierens nach dem hohen Wissen auf die Seite legen müssen und schauen mit einem niedrigen [humble] und steifen [persevering] Herzen."[60]

Somewhat later Jan Amos Komensky (Comenius) the great leader of the Bohemian Brethren, repeatedly expressed himself in understanding terms about the Hutterian Brethren, without however coming nearer to them himself. "Die Täufer halten sich durch ihre inner Verfassung, die bei ihnen so vollkommen ist wie bei keiner Unität in der Welt," he writes in 1633 in his book entitled *Frage über die Unität.*[61] And in 1661 he says in a writing against the Socinian Dr. Daniel Zwicker, who had also been for a time with the Hutterian ministers, but then later sought other ways, "Jene einfachen mährischen Brüder (Hutterer) kenne ich von Jugend auf und wusste, dass sie öfters von den polnischen Antitrinitariern *versucht* worden sind, aber stets im Glauben beharrten."[62]

Little has been known hitherto of later discussions of the above type, although it has been assumed that in the time of Pietism such contacts would be inescapable. The discovery of an extensive source of this type dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, may therefore be considered to be a genuine enrichment of our knowledge, and demands a more thorough examination. Apart from a report of the meeting between Zinzendorf (with the Herrnhut leadership) and the Anabaptists, this is the only document of its type bearing on our theme. We shall now consider this book.

Among the many treasures of the library of the United Mennonite Church of Amsterdam, there is one rather insignificant book, whose value had hitherto not been recognized. It bears the title

---

59a. In using the word "love," Walpot thinks primarily of the perfect community of goods.

60. Friedmann, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 1931, p. 106.

61. Jan Amos Komensky, *Fragen über die Unität*, 1633.

62. Joan Amos Comenii, *De Iterato Sociniano Irenico Iterata ad Christianos Admonitio sive Pseudo Irenici vere autem Christomastigis Danielis Zwickeri* . . . Amstelredami, 1661. Cf. J. Kvacala, *Johann Amos Comenius*, 1892.

Gespräch zwischen einem Pietisten und einem Wiedertäufer, in welchem einige Vorurteile und Lehrpuncten der Wiedertäufer untersuchet und worinnen wahre Pietisten von ihnen (zu) unterscheiden sind. (Was) an den Tag gelegt wird durch Johannes Jakob Wolleb Pfarrer in Thenniken.—Basel bei Johann Ludwig Brandmüller, 1722. It is a small octavo volume, bound in paper covers, containing 314 pages. The content of this book consists of the preface to the reader, the first discussion (pages 17-128), the second discussion (pages 129-288) and a sermon, "Uber die erschröckliche Sünde des eitlen und leichtfertigen Schwörens."

It is remarkable that this book has hitherto not received any notice. Extensive search has revealed that the copy in Amsterdam is the only one in existence. No German nor Swiss library, nor the British museum, possesses a copy of it. Thus it was possible for Wernle in his extensive work, *Geschichte des Schweizer Protestantismus im 18. Jahrhundert, Bd. I. Vernünftige Orthodoxie und Pietismus,* 1923, to report much interesting material about the Pietist Wolleb, without even mentioning the very important writing on our theme by this author.[63] Ernst Correll in his well-known book, *Das schweizerische Täufermennonitentum*[64] knew as little as did the older writers, such as E. Müller,[65] or Wolkan,[66] which is absolutely nothing. It is true of course that this volume was of little special interest to historians so long as the problem which it concerned had not arisen in their thinking. It is also true that our newly-discovered author was no superlative personality. However, what he had to say as an advocate of Pietism versus the Anabaptism of that day, which had already become rather weak, was probably quite similar to what many of that time thought, and his writing remains the most extensive debate between the two groups, if one excludes Marpeck's *Verantwortung* which dealt with another type of Pietism in an earlier age. Wolleb's book was no polemical writing like Marpeck's. Another time had come when other motives were now in the front. A friendly missionary zeal, as well as the need for justification for the point of view of the Pietist over against the temptation, however weak it was, which came from the remnant of Anabaptism

63. Paul Wernle, *Geschichte des Schweizer Protestantismus im 18. Jahrhundert,* Bd. I, *Vernünftige Orthodoxie und Pietismus,* Tuebingen, 1923.

64. Ernst Correll, *Das Schweizerische Täufer-Mennonitentum,* Tübingen, 1925.

65. E. Müller, *Berner Täufer,* Frauenfeld, 1895.

66. R. Wolkan, *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer, Berlin,* 1903.

which had been able to survive in Switzerland. Perhaps it was also a defense against the popular confusion of the two groups. Kinship and antithesis as well as the quite subtle question about the "right spirit" find expression in this writing.

The Religions Situation in Switzerland at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century as a Prerequisite to the Understanding of Wolleb's Book

Before we take up the content of the Wolleb book in detail, we should briefly survey the general situation among both the Pietists and the Anabaptists in Switzerland at that time. It is remarkable that Anabaptism in Switzerland, apart from the very earliest beginnings, produced no outstanding leaders or teachers. It was therefore dependent in its religious views throughout on books and pamphlets from the outside. The term "Swiss Brethren" really was used in the early day to refer to the congregations of the Rhineland. The *Franckenthaler Gespräch,* for example, of 1571, which is treated by Wolkan[67] so thoroughly, and also by Christian Hege[68] contains exclusively the views of the "Swiss," but that term is intended only to distinguish the West German and Rhineland Anabaptists in contrast to the Mennonites of Holland and the Hutterites and has scarcely anything to do with the brethren in Switzerland proper. Gradually, however, the distinctions in doctrinal teaching became insignificant. The Swiss Anabaptists adopted more and more the Mennonite views, particularly as they were expressed in the Dortrecht confession of April 21, 1632. In the mandate of 1692 issued by the Canton of Berne which is reported by E. Müller in his Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer[69] the following statement is found: "In unsrem Lande werden wiedertäuferische Bücher ausgestreut, eines genannt der *Ausbundt,* ein anderes Confessio *Thomas von Imbroich* und ein drittes, der *Täufern in Holland Glaubensbekenntnis,* wodurch der gemeine Mann beschwert und verwirrt werden kann . . . ." Besides these three abnoxious books, in 1702 the authorities declared only the well-known Froschauer Bible to be objectionable.[70]

---

67. *Protocoll, Das ist Alle Handlung des gesprechs zu Franckenthal,* Heidelberg, 1571. Treated in Wolkan, *op. cit.*

68. Christian Hege, *Die Täufer in der Kurpfalz,* Frankfurt, 1908.

69. E. Müller, *op. cit.,* p. 104.

70. E. Müller, *op. cit.,* p. 353. The *Ausbundt* is the Swiss Brethren hymnbook which first appeared in 1564. Thomas von Imbroich was an Anabaptist of the Lower

These books therefore constitute the spiritual equipment which held the brotherhood in Switzerland together. However, it is evident from the hymns which have been preserved, that the inner life of the Swiss brotherhood was much richer than might be supposed on the basis of the above books. And Wolkan is right in tracing the true spiritual history of the Swiss Anabaptists on the basis of their hymns.

The assimilation of Swiss and Dutch Mennonite views is also clearly indicated in the hymns of an Anabaptist writing which deserves mention at this place on account of its contemporaneous character with our Wolleb source. Wolkan refers to it in his *Lieder der Wiedertäufer*,[71] unfortunately without giving the location of the book. The title reads: *Ein Sendbrief samt einem schönen Gebet und geistlichem Lied—in vielen Anliegen und Nöten zu gebrauchen, wie auch etliche geistliche Lieder, gedruckt im Jahr, da wahre Busse von Nöten war. Von einem Liebhaber Gottes Wortes geschrieben an seine Hausgenossen und Mitglieder, welcher im 1715ten Jahre ist um seines Glaubens willen gefangen und gen Bern in die Gefangenschaft geführt worden.* This title indicates that Anabaptism was still alive, a living reality in the eighteenth century. To the authorities it continued to appear as a danger to the state, but the Brethren were, then as earlier, ready to suffer.

In their manner of life the Swiss Brethren, who were exclusively farmers, had remained unshakably steadfast and loyal to their forefathers. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, in spite of continuing persecution, approximately a thousand Anabaptist brethren were still to be found in the Canton of Berne, which is the only place in Switzerland that comes into the question. The government of Berne had established its own special Anabaptist constabulary and threatened severe punishment on the galleys. But the secret groups and fellowship stood fast. It is worthy of note that at that time pietists also advocated the release of the Brethren.[72]

An unfortunate conflict broke out about this time, among the Swiss Anabaptists, concerning the proper manner of life. A radical faction broke off in 1693 under the leadership of Jakob Ammann,

---

Rhine region who died as a martyr in 1558. The Brethren endorsed his "Confession" at the time of the Frankenthal debate of 1571. The "Confession" was first printed in the 16th century. The Dutch confession referred to is the Eighteen Articles of Dortrecht of 1632, first published in German in 1660.

71. R. Wolkan, *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer*, p. 155.

72. E. Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-233.

with the more moderate groups continuing under the leadership of Hans Reist. The Bernese Oberland followed Ammann, whereas the Emmenthal remained with the moderate party.[73] Further persecutions and the generous aid of the Holland Mennonites ultimately led to the emigration of many of both parties to Pennsylvania from 1710 on. Those who remained behind in Switzerland, continued in part, despite persecution, in the Emmenthal, but in greater part migrated to the territory of Neuenburg, which at that time was under the King of Prussia, and to the principality of Basel, where they gradually received a relative tolerance.[74] They were exceptionally good farmers and for that reason were a welcome addition to the population. Toward the end of the eighteenth century (1797, 1799, 1802 and 1803) they were visited here by representatives of the Moravian Brüderunität who came with a missionary purpose, although without success. The Moravian reports repeat only what we have heard so often in the sixteenth century from their opponents, "Sie halten mit sektiererischer Starrheit und Enge an ihren gesetzlichen Ordnungen fest."[75] They were not free in their conservative traditional attitudes and customs of life, including clothing. For that reason they made a strange impression in this otherwise so changed world, although they received recognition for their strength of faith. This it was indeed, which in spite of all the apparent lack of leaders, maintained the group at all times, even to the extent of bringing them new additions from the country population. Wernle concludes his very objective description of them with the following noteworthy words: "Als im 18. Jahrhundert fast in der ganzen Schweiz der Sepataratismus sich regte, im Zusammenhang mit pietistischen und enthusiastischen Bewegungen, da waren die Hüter des Bestehenden an vielen Orten mit dem Schlagwort "Täufer" zur Hand, um möglichst rasch das neue Uebel mit den alten Methoden zu unterdrücken. An die Täufer erinnerte ja vor allem der Antimilitarismus dieser Gruppen (!) und die Ablehnung des Eides. . . . Es gibt zu denken, dass das Berner Oberland, die alte Täuferheimat, nach der Auswanderung der Amischen Täufer als Hauptherd des *pietistischen Laiengeistes* hervortritt. Von einer eigentlichen Propaganda der Täufer ist jedoch kaum zu reden. Sie blieben, was sie

73. The above-mentioned epistle came from the Reist party.
74. Mennonites are still to be found in the Jura district today.
75. P. Wernle, *op. cit.* p. 120, (footnote 63), where further references are given.

einmal vor Jahrhunderten gewesen waren, unbekümmert um den Gang der Geschichte. Das ist zugleich ihre Kraft und ihre Schwäche gewesen."[76] The above mentioned epistle of 1715, which was written by a brother who was imprisoned for his faith, testifies just as much as does the writing by Wolleb which we are about to discuss, that the spiritual tradition of this group had remained as living and powerful as the tradition of the outer forms of life. Not only did the state authorities feel themselves disturbed by the group, but also the newly arising pietistic movement apparently felt the need of a discussion with these Anabaptist groups who were after all so very small.

Pietism on the other hand was by no means a homogeneous phenomenon in Switzerland. Several varieties can be detected. The pietistic movement began, just as it did in Central Germany as an ecclesiastical reform movement against dead conventions and dead theological orthodoxy. As such it was an outspokenly personal revival movement among students and professors, remarkably, under the influence of Lutheran writings (Spener and Francke) and not under the influence of the Dutch reformed pietism, which would naturally have seemed to stand closer to the Calvinistic Swiss Church.

It was only after this first attempt at a reform within the church shattered on the strong resistance of the Swiss church itself, that a separatistic church-antagonistic movement of a strong character developed, which was soon joined (to its own disadvantage) by so-called "inspired" elements similar to what would have been called in the sixteenth century "Enthusiasts" or *Schwärmer.* In both types of Pietism the goal was to seek a new understanding of Christianity in terms of a deepening of a personal experience of faith, and thus to lead to a new life. Actually, however, such a movement was the forerunner for the later "enlightened" or "natural" theology of rationalism which sought its sources in reason instead of the Holy Scriptures.

Independent of these two movements was the Moravian movement of Count Zinzendorf, which in a certain sense at least represented an entirely new church along side of Lutheran and Swiss Reformed confessions. In 1740 Zinzendorf had been personally in Switzerland on his return journey from America. However, his

76. P. Wernle, *op. cit.,* p. 121.

teaching had long been widely known as a result of its spread throughout Switzerland. The Pietism of Basel was particularly strongly under his influence.[77] It is particularly Zinzendorf's teaching of the freely granted salvation leading to the joy and child-like faith of the saved, in its own peculiar continuation of Lutheran teaching which had exerted such an attraction for the Swiss Christian group which hitherto had been based so strongly on the Old Testament legalistic point of view.

Johann Jakob Wolleb, the author of our *Gespräch* comes from an old Basel family of theologians. The old *Gelehrtenlexikon* by Jöcher[78] mentions a preacher in Basel by the name of Johann Wolleb who died in 1629, also his son Johann Jakob Wolleb, likewise a preacher in Basel, professor of oratory, musician and author of numerous theological writings, which appeared in the English language. The latter died in 1667. It was apparently a grandson of this man who as pastor in Thenniken in Baselland became the author of our book. Wernle mentions him several times in his work,[79] interestingly enough as an enthusiastic supporter of Count Zinzendorf, who had correspondence with him and who even visited him at the time of his journey in Switzerland. Wolleb had sent his son Emanuel, later theologian in Basel, to Herrnhut in 1732, although without success, since the son came back home "unconverted." However the influence of Zinzendorf comes later and at the time of the writing of the *Gespräch* in 1722 Wolleb was altogether under the influence of Lutheran Pietism, especially that of Spener and Francke, a fact which quite definitely influences the argument used against the Anabaptists. For this reason the Gespräch makes the impression more of a discussion between *Lutheran* Pietism and Anabaptism than between *Swiss* Pietism and the latter. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the booklet later disappeared so completely. Certainly Wolleb was a very receptive and religiously wide awake man. It is quite evident that he was much attracted to Anabaptism, and that he received the Anabaptist arguments and testimonies with

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 325-356.

78. Chr. G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrtenlexikon*, Leipzig, 1756. According to the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* J. Wolleb lived from 1586 to 1629. His chief theological work, *Compendium* . . . became of decisive influence on the composition of the "Great Catechism" of the Puritan Westminster Assembly in 1645. See also Leu, *Helvetisches Lexikon*, 1765, vol. XIX, p. 552, and the *Enc. Britannica*, s. v. "Westminster Assembly."

79. P. Wernle, *op. cit.*, p. 328, and more extensively, p. 370.

a certain degree of participation. This is a trait which we have noted earlier in the discussion of the edificatory literature of the Pietists as one of the noteworthy characteristics of Pietism.

Das Gespräch zwischen einem Pietisten und einem Wiedertäufer.

Our book begins with the customary preface to the reader. "Es kann das Titelblatt dem günstigen Leser den Inhalt und das Absehen dieser Gesprächen beinahe genugsam zu verstehen geben, weilen ich beobachtet, dass man insgemein keinen Unterschied zwischen den sogenannten Pietisten und den Wiedertäufern zu machen pflegt . . . die doch in Ansehung vieler Lehrpuncten von einander zu underscheiden sind. So habe (ich es für) nötig erachtet, diesen Unterschied dem Leser unter Augen zu stellen." Following this Wolleb discriminates three types of Pietists: (a) the genuine true Pietists who do not submit to any separation from the church even though they are attached to the Augsburg confession (as Swiss); (b) another group who have taken on "eine gewisse Art zu leben" and who have gone deeply into mystical theology or even have gone so far as to make room for their own fancy (obviously the "Inspired"); and finally (3) the true Pharisees, who only have the appearance of godliness, otherwise nothing.

Wolleb gives likewise a remarkable survey of the various groups of Anabaptists, approximately after the fashion of Luther who in his time had gathered together all of his opponents under the selective name of "Schwärmer." It is very probable that the author here made use of the well-known book by Ottius *Annales Anabaptistici* which had appeared in 1672 in Basel and which contains such a list of all kinds of "strange" groups. Wolleb asserts that there are over seventy sects of this type. It is clear that he could not make such an assertion out of his own experience. The same holds for all the well-known customary attacks against the Anabaptists which asserted that they lived in unrestrained and antinomian freedom, and that they wanted to reduce everything to chaos. Finally he does come to those groups which are really known to him, which are actually free from such errors, yet are *Geisttreiber* (Enthusiasts), which permit only completely sanctified ones among their number to receive the Lord's supper and which have abolished the office of preacher, together with all political offices and authorities, all use of the sword, all right to war, all swearing of oaths and "was dergleichen Irrtum mehr sein mochte . . . wie sie heute zu tage in unserem

Lande sich finden." With all of these Wolleb wishes to debate. "Dazu bin ich umso mehr bewogen, weil ich nach Untersuchung und viel fältigem Umgang mit ein und andern, die in dem Verdacht wiedertäuferischen Irrtums sind, nicht Grund genug gefunden, (sie) als solche wirklich anzusehen . . . ." In conclusion he quotes Spener who says: "Man muss nicht alle diejenigen unter der Pietisten Namen begreifen, welche einigerleiweise auf *Gottseligkeit treiben,* da sonst dero Tun und Absicht unterschiedlich ist."[80] A Pietist on the other hand is a person who uses all his energy to improve our churches.

Now comes the first *Gespräch* (conversation) "concerning the possession of the Holy Ghost." "Wer von sich behaupten darf dass er die Wahrheit besitzt in dem Verständnis der Heiligen Schrift."

In the following discussion Wolleb has his Anabaptist (indicated by a W) begin somewhat as follows: I believe that the Holy Spirit is the spirit of truth which leads his own into all truth . . . and so far as I am concerned I shall remain by the simple truth.

But it is quite clear that it is very difficult to carry on a discussion on this point in such a fashion, that harmony may finally be achieved, since each of the two partners to the dispute makes the same claims to possess the Holy Spirit. The Pietist for instance (in the following discussion indicated by P), at first summons to his aid Arndt, Spener, and Francke, and considers a good Christian to be a church man. All "Geisttreiber" are an abomination to him.

(W). May the Holy Spirit and his anointing lead us in his truth (He refers to I John 2:27). What do you find to object to in that?

Thereupon the P. replies that only too often do human beings suppose the above to be true, but in the light of the Word of God such a thing often turns out to be their own spirit (Acts 7:51). How can one know that he has truly received the Holy Spirit? Is everything truth that human beings consider to be truth? What is the unmistakable evidence of the Holy Spirit?

(W). The evidence which I recognize is that I am a truly regenerated and renewed Christian. The Holy Spirit who has begotten me again, has taught me this. I do not follow the world in any respect in her customs and manners, but I rather practice in clothing,

---

80. This applies to the Spiritualists, Weigelians, followers of Böhme, and Quakers.

in manner and in other customs, modesty and humility. I take no advantage of anyone, and I myself deal uprightly in my daily life.

(P). I find nothing in outward appearance, since I cannot see into your heart, nothing which an honest and reasonable human being could not do, and nothing that also a mouth Christian and hypocrite could not do and which a half-Christian could not recognize.

(W). Are good works not an infallible sign of a good Christian? (Galatians 5:22).

(P). Far be it from me to deny this. But this is not the question, rather the question is, whether all works which appear to be good works, are in fact good works. The first fruits of the spirit in a regenerated person are love, joy, and peace. You must first know whether your inner life is pure and renewed (Ephesians 4:23).

Now comes a characteristic pietistic turn of thought. (P) You must find within yourself the true living faith and must know that after you acknowledge your great misery, your helplessness, your rejection of all your own righteousness, you have taken your refuge in the Lord Jesus and his merit. When you find all this in your own heart, and then practice good works out of such a sanctified basis in your heart, then, say I, you have an infallible sign of your new birth and conversion. The real question between us is whether in consequence of your new birth everything you claim to be infallible really is infallible.

(W). (Answers with I Corinthians 2:14) Since the natural man does not receive anything from the Spirit of God, and since it is foolishness to him, the Holy Spirit must teach him all truth which is found in God's Word.

Thereupon (P) gives the answer which Peter Walpot, the Hutterian leader, had given to the Polish Brethren 150 years earlier: Since the foolishness of God must be wiser than all the wisdom of men (I Corinthians 1:25), man, in recognition of the mysteries of God, should bring his reason into captivity under the obedience of faith (II Corinthians 10:5). To this extent the natural man needs the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit. (This argument evidently has the purpose of showing that the lay theology of the Anabaptists is not sufficient, but that rather that it is necessary to follow the great teachers of the church, since they alone have had the ability to interpret the Scriptures).

(P). I believe that I am also a true regenerated Christian, and that consequently I also have the possession of the Holy Spirit. Which interpretation of the Scriptures therefore is the truth? It is not sufficient to claim that the Holy Spirit teaches the regenerated everything. The Spirit of God speaks of a growth in the grace and knowledge of Jesus Christ (II Peter 3:18). There are still many dark, obscure places in the Holy Scriptures.

(W). But the Lord Jesus promised believers the Spirit of truth which should guide them into all truth (John 16). "Ye know all things," says John (I John 2:20). I insist that the regenerated are led of the Holy Spirit into all truth without exception.

(P). (He now refers to Romans 7 and Galatians 7:17. Note how the difference between John (W) and Paul (P) becomes the main thread of the discussion). The new birth does not make human beings on earth perfect without shortcomings. (At this point a contradiction develops in the argument of (P), who did not succeed in defending his position successfully. He considers himself to be a regenerated person and yet on the other hand "worthy of condemnation" in the sense of the Lutheran theology.) I say this for the reason that it seems that among you one builds and depends too much upon an assumed infallibility and it would almost seem that each one of you in this respect would be a pope. (This is against the lay theology).

(W). No, we do not ascribe to ourselves infallibility, this honor does not belong to us but rather to the Holy Spirit.

(P). You would have reason to be really conscientious and give up your opinions. A little less stubbornness and a little more humility, self-abasement, and self-depreciation would be sufficient to make the matter right. (At this point the discussion departs from the main theme.)

(W). Our church is the pure and spotless church of Christ on earth. Since our people are also intent on godliness and holiness of life, because we separate ourselves from the godless world and alone constitute a holy little group and church in the world, this gives me the certainty, that the anointing of the Holy Spirit has taught me this. Light has no fellowship with darkness (II Corinthians 6:14). Error and lies have no power for godliness. (The expression here used is *Gottseligkeit,* translated "godliness," a typical pietistic expression which is seldom used in Anabaptist writings, but which Wolleb here frequently puts into the mouth of the

Anabaptist.) This is alone possible through the knowledge of the truth (Titus 1:1).

(P). The necessity of Godliness is a point of doctrine which is not only taught in the school of the Holy Spirit but also in the school of reason and of the natural conscience, and belongs to natural religion as well as to the Christian religion. (Note here the typical manner of thought of the eighteenth century, which created the concept of a "natural religion." It was probably the Socinians and the Polish Brethren who were the first to seek this way in the sixteenth century. This manner of thought led to a second major line of development in Pietism along side of the purely edificatory-irrational line.)

(P). The insistence on godliness is also often a denial of the Christian religion and a resurrection of the covenant of works and righteousness. (This is a characteristic Lutheran argument). The Christian religion insists on the duties of godliness and on good works, but not alone, also on good faith. Active Christian living is a fruit of faith.

The (W) cannot understand how light and darkness can exist side by side. He demands a clear cut decision.

For the (P) on the other hand it is important that one should feel himself to be a condemned sinner, and for this reason give himself over to the church entirely. He argues as follows: Could not Pharisees, Pelagians, Socinians, and other "Irrgeister" argue with equal right on the same point, and yet come to a false conclusion? What can you offer as a sure sign of the Holy Spirit? (Here the discussion returns again to the central theme.)

The (W) refers again to separation from the world and from other churches. "We constitute a holy 'little flock' in the world."

(P). It remains, however, a serious question, whether such a separation from the world and from godless ones, yes from our church, is the same as that which the Word of God requires and justifies.

(W). Following the admonition of Paul we do not want to be like the world in any respect. (Romans 12:1) Each one speaks, teaches, and prays according to the spirit which drives him. (It is hardly likely that any Anabaptist ever spoke in this fashion.)

(P). There is a great difference between separating oneself from a church and its members, and separating oneself from the world of the godless. You Anabaptists separate yourself from the

church and cause divisions and schisms for the sake of doctrines which do not constitute in any respect the fundamental articles of the Christian religion and are mostly of light importance.

The (W) defends the requirement of a pure church.

(P). Right minded and true Pietists do not stop participating in the holy communion with other believers, even if there should by chance be unbelievers among them, but leave such to the judgment of God. (I Corinthians 5:12-13) Nowhere do you find that the Spirit of God speaks of such a separation as yours, much less does it approve such a separation.

At this point the discussion turns into theological arguments about infant baptism, which we may readily omit. They are insignificant. The (P) bases his arguments on the authority of Spener.

Once more the discussion comes back to the question of the pure church. The (P) rejects this altogether. The mere presence of an unbeliever does not contaminate one. If an unbeliever participates unworthily in the holy communion, that is not charged to another's account. (P) is also not sure but that a Pharisaic pride may be hid among the Anabaptists of the type which says "I thank thee God that I am not like this publican."

Right at this point in the argument it becomes very clear how diverse the two ways of thought are. The (P) seeks after personal salvation and godliness, whereas the (W), seeks after the pure church as a portion of the kingdom of God which is to be realized, however unsatisfactory the actual practice may be.

The (W) now proceeds to the rejection of the magistracy among good Christians. We obligate ourselves, he says, to the practice of love and the works of love, peace and harmony, to pursue righteousness, faithfulness, and truth, and in doing that we do not need among us as Christians lawmakers, rulers or judges.

The (P) opposes this with the standpoint of the "world." It would be a sad state of affairs if piety could not exist and not be promoted without your doctrines. How is it, however, that you do not also doubt the truth (he means revelation). Can such a doctrine and teaching be true and have God for its originator and teacher? Can the Lord Jesus require and approve such a doctrine, a doctrine which is in conflict with the main purpose of the work of redemption? It is a question whether one should not begin to suspect that the reason you do not want among yourselves any lawmaker or authority, is in order that you may lead a lawless life, and do what your lusts

desire. (Note here the old accusation which was offered as early as 1525 in Switzerland). The spirit of God says through the pen of the apostle that everyone should be subject to the powers that be (Romans 13 and I Timothy 2:1-3).

(W). You will at least have to grant that non-swearing and not profaning the name of God is a good work.

(P). In a proper sense non-swearing is not a good work but right swearing is a good work.

(W). I cannot understand how an oath can be acceptable service to God.

(P). Let me give you a sermon on Matthew 5:34 in which this is shown. A proper oath is a proper service to God and a praise to the name of God. (This sermon constitutes the appendix to the discussion and is its conclusion. At this point one has the impression that these discussions actually took place about as they are given, as the introduction suggests. The formula "a proper oath is a proper service to God" naturally avoids all conflict with the government, and makes possible peace with the "world." The antitheses are clearly evident.)

(W). There is a great difference between promising and vowing something sacred to God, and swearing to men and to government. The former deals with spiritual things and the salvation of the soul, while the latter deals with only temporal and material things.

(P). It is not the swearing of oaths which is a sin, but the misuse which goes with it. For this reason may you and your brethren consider well whether you have not been guilty of great sin in this that you have sworn to be faithful to your teachers. (It appears that (P) here deliberately confuses a pledge and an oath in order to escape the dilemma in which he found himself.)

(W). On this point I feel that I am without reproach.

(P). After I have demonstrated to you that you, by swearing to support these doctrines of the Anabaptists, have actually sworn to believe and do things which are erroneous, false and sinful and give occasion and cause for much sin, you will have to confess that you have sworn frivolously and that you have sinned terribly. Is it not a sinful steadfastness, in spite of all this, to insist on holding to a religion and doctrine which is of such a character?

(W). It is better to sin through steadfastness, than to forswear oneself.

(P). Is it not a terrible sin, against better knowledge, to hold fast to a sinful oath?

(W). We have the express command of God the Lord, "Thou shalt keep thine oath to God" (Lev. 19:12 and Matthew 5:33). (Note: never did the Anabaptists apply this passage in this fashion, since for them it was abolished by Matthew 5:34. Here the (P) is quite Pharisaical.)

(P). This concerns only proper and holy oaths, and not of course oaths by which one binds himself to do something evil.

(W). However, the Old Testament counts it as a virtue and praises it as a sign of a pious man if one holds to his oath even though he has sworn to his own hurt or to something evil (Psalm 15:4). The fundamental issue is, of course, that you must persuade me and others that our doctrines are erroneous and are not grounded in the truth.

(P). Certainly this should be well considered, the more since we have so little lack of evidence. Furthermore, since up to this point I have, on the basis of good grounds, refuted all the supposed signs which you have offered that the Holy Ghost must necessarily have taught you your special doctrine, and I have demonstrated that such doctrines do not have any influence or power to lead to godliness, and have therefore proved that you have no reason to boast of inspiration by the Holy Spirit, it is much more to be feared that your doctrines are from the spirit of error and the enemy of true godliness.

(W). If I and others can not depend upon the confidence that the anointing of a regenerated Christian will protect such an one from error, then I do not know how one can be sure of any doctrine or know that the same is an infallible doctrine of the truth revealed by God himself.

(P). In order to know that, it is not necessary to have especial and immediate inner revelation and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, since the revealed Word of God shows the purpose for which the Holy Spirit has already revealed and given to us all truth and all the doctrines of the faith. (By this statement (P) means of course the official interpretation of the church, since the Word itself is also taken by the Anabaptists as the basis for their teaching. Never did an Anabaptist speak of personal inspiration like the "inspired" or *Schwärmer.*)

(*To be concluded*)